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THE  
EXPEDITION  
OF  
*Cyrus into Persia;*  
AND THE  
RETREAT  
OF THE  
Ten Thousand *GREEKS.*

TRANSLATED FROM  
*XENOPHON,*

WITH  
CRITICAL and HISTORICAL NOTES,  
BY  
*EDWARD SPELMAN, Esq;*

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IN TWO VOLUMES &

---

THE SECOND EDITION.

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*LONDON;*

Printed for *D. Browne*, without *Temple-Bar*; *C. Davis*,  
in *Holborn*; *A. Millar*, in the *Strand*; *S. Baker*, in  
*Russel-street*, near *Covent Garden*, and *John Whiston*, in  
*Fleet-street*, 1749.







TO THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE  
THE  
LORD LOVELL.

MY LORD!

**L**F I wanted a Reason for dedicating this Translation of *Xenophon* to your Lordship, I could easily find one in the many

A 2

Years

Years of Acquaintance, I may say, of Intimacy, I have pass'd in your Neighbourhood: But your Lordship's superior Knowledge in ancient Literature, your Acquaintance with the most celebrated Authors, your Sagacity in discovering, and Judgment in admiring their Beauties, are not so properly Reasons to persuade, as Claims to challenge a Dedication of one of the politest Authors of Antiquity. On the other Side, how will your Lordship, who reads the Original, not only without Difficulty, but with Admiration, bear to see the Elegance of an *Attick* Author debas'd by the Rudeness of a *Gothick* Language, and, what is worse, by the Incapacity of the Translator? The first of these it is not in my Power to reform, and, if the last is in any  
Degree

Degree improv'd, it is owing to my Conversation with your Lordship.

I remember, when we were Fox-hunters, and a long Day's Sport had rather tir'd, than satisfied us, we often pass'd the Evening in reading the ancient Authors ; when the Beauty of their Language, the Strength, and Justness of their Thoughts for ever glowing with a noble Spirit of Liberty, made us forget not only the Pains, but the Pleasures of the Day.

WONDER not, my Lord ! that I am willing to recall those Seasons of Delight, since they afforded me a double Pleasure, one arising from the Authors themselves, and the other



from your Lordship's Observations on them. I have too great a Regard for the Reputation of those Authors, not to make it known, that, next to Nature, they have made your Lordship one of the best Judges in the World in Painting, and Architecture; it is owing to your exquisite Taste in both, that *Holkham* is an *Athenian* Country-House in every Thing, but the Danger of being eminent; but your Lordship is yourself an Instance, that, in *England*, though as free as *Athens*, Eminence may be universally acknowledged, without being expos'd.

It must, however, be own'd that these Monuments of your Taste, which your Lordship will leave for the Instruction, and Admiration of Posterity,

ity, might seem to intimate, in the Mind that rais'd them, a Want of that Perfection, they themselves so justly boast of, if you did not, at the same Time leave the Person, who, according to the Course of Nature, will succeed you, qualified to relish the Possession of them: This you have effectually provided for, by taking Care that, as Nature has made Mr. Coke Heir to your Understanding, and the Law to your Fortune, his Education should make him so to your Accomplishments.

THAT your Lordship may long enjoy the Knowledge you have treasur'd up, and your Son have long the Improvement of your Example, as he has already had That of your Instruction, and that I may long be

a Witness of both, are the sincere  
Wishes of,

**MY LORD!**

*Your Lordship's*

*Most Obedient Humble Servant,*

**EDWARD SPELMAN.**



THE  
P R E F A C E.

**T**HERE is not, possibly, a more difficult, a more discouraging, or a more useful Task than That of a Translator ; when I say this, I mean one who writes a Translation, not a Paraphrase, under which Name most modern Performances of this Kind ought to be comprehended. It was very judiciously observ'd by Mr. Pope, in the Preface to his incomparable Translation of the Iliad, that there have not been more Men misled in former Times by a servile dull Adherence to the Letter, than have been deluded in ours by a chimerical insolent Hope of raising and improving their Author. If these Liberties are not to be allowed in translating Poets, much less ought they to be indulged in translating Historians.

*Historians. These Paraphrafts, it seems; are Men of too exalted a Genius to stoop to a literal Translation; they must improve their Author, by adding something, which he ignorantly omitted, or by omitting something, which he vainly thought material; by this Means, the Readers, who cannot compare the Translation with the Original (for whose Use chiefly Translations are intended) have either some wretched modern Interpolation imposed on them for the Thoughts of an Ancient, or lose some of the Author's Thoughts, which the Title of a Translation gave them a Right to. But these Gentlemen have another Reason for paraphrasing; instead of translating, if they will own it; they find less Difficulty in cloathing modern Thoughts in a modern Dress, than in making Those of an Ancient appear gracefully in a Language so very different from That, in which they were conceiv'd: For it is a Work of greater Difficulty, than those, who have not experienc'd it, can possibly imagine, to give an Appearance of Novelty to Antiquity, to give Light to those Things, which the Ignorance of ancient Customs, and Manners has render'd obscure, to*  
*give*

*give Beauty to those that are obsolete, to give Credibility to those that are doubtful, and, above all, to give to a Copy the Air of an Original: Tet all these, however difficult, belong to the Province of a Translator; these are Embellishments, which he is to acquire, if he can; but his first Duty is Fidelity to his Author: without that, his Performance is not what it professes to be, and, in that Case, these Embellishments, like royal Robes upon the Back of an Impostor, are rather a Mockery than an Ornament. If to the most exact Fidelity a Translator joins Beauty of Language, Strength of Expression, and, above all, Perspicuity; and if, with these, he has Genius enough to animate his Translation with the Spirit of his Original, he then performs every Duty belonging to his Profession. I am far from thinking that my Translation of Xenophon has all these Perfections; on the contrary, I am sensible that it is in this, as in most other Things, much easier to point out a Duty, than to fulfil it. But I should be very much wanting in that Respect which every Author owes to the Publick, if I did not assure them that no Endeavours, no Application,*

*plication, no Labour has been spar'd to render this Translation fit to be laid before them. If the Difficulties a Translator meets with are considerable; the Discouragements he labours under are no less so. The great Number of anonymous Translations, the great Number of Translations of Translations, for which we in England are famous; but, above all, some very unfortunate Versions of Lives from the Greek into our Language, to which the Names of Authors justly admir'd for every other Kind of Writing are prefixed, shew the small Account the World has Reason to make of Translations, as well as the Difficulty of succeeding in them. These Considerations, I say, are powerful Discouragements to the undertaking any Thing of this Kind; but, if these are not sufficient to deter, let it be consider'd how unjust a Way of thinking prevails with most Readers; if there is any Merit in the Performance, it is plac'd to the Account of the Author, and if any Fault, to That of the Translator. Yet it should seem that Translations might deserve more Indulgence, when it is consider'd how many Persons of great Parts, who happen to be*  
*unacquainted*

*unacquainted with the learned Languages, particularly with Greek, would, without that Assistance, be depriv'd of the Satisfaction, and Improvement of reading ancient Histories written by ancient Authors; for, I dare say, those, who are conversant with both, will allow that those Histories are generally so much disfigur'd, and distorted by modern Relators, as scarce to be known: An Instance of this we see in our Countryman Sir Walter Raleigh, who has, in my Opinion, treated ancient History with more Strength, and Dignity than any modern Writer of any other Nation, and yet, let his Account of the Battle of Cannæ, though a military Subject, and, therefore, particularly within his Province, let his Account, I say, of that Battle be compar'd with the Relation given of it by Polybius, from whom he took it, and what I have advanc'd will plainly appear. When I say this, I do not mean to insinuate that Sir Walter Raleigh was inferior, either as a Soldier, or a Scholar, to Polybius; for I am thoroughly convinc'd of his great Abilities, his Fate alone is a Proof of them: The only Disadvantage he lay under, was in being less acquainted with the Manners,*



*ners, Customs, and Discipline of the two contending Nations at Canaë; so that I am confident, whoever reads the two Relations of that Battle, will agree with me that a close Translation of the Account given of it by Polybius would have been much more satisfactory, and instructive to those who cannot read the Original.*

*THE Reader will observe that I have, in the Course of my Notes, principally taken notice of three Translations, That of Lounclavius, of Hutchinson, and of d'Ablancourt; there is, besides, an Italian Translation of the Expedition of Cyrus by Gandini, which I have occasionally consulted; but, as in Cases of Difficulty I found no Assistance from thence, and, as I thought a Criticism upon a Translation in a third Language would incumber the Notes, I have chosen to take no Notice of it. I am also sensible there is a Latin Translation of this History by Stephens, which I have mention'd as occasion requir'd. But I cannot part with this Subject without taking particular Notice of Mr. Hutchinson's Edition of the Expedition of Cyrus, which I look upon to be  
the*

*the best edited Book in the World, except the Cyropædia publish'd by the same Author : If I have sometimes differ'd from him, I hope it will be thought I have supported my Opinion in such a Manner that he will have no just Reason to find Fault with me. I have observ'd the same Conduct with Regard to d'Ablancourt, the Looseness of whose Translation I have been frequently oblig'd to condemn ; on the other Side, it will be allowed that I have often commended him ; though I cannot carry my Commendations of him so far as his Countryman Menage, who says that d'Ablancourt has surpass'd even Xenophon himself in the Elegance of his Style. Another celebrated French Critick, Balzac, says, that d'Ablancourt's Translation of Xenophon would be incomparable, if he had plac'd no-  
 thing before it, but that his Preface is so fine, that it obscures the finest Things that can be compar'd to it ; he adds that, if it were possible for d'Ablancourt to have liv'd in the Time of Cyrus the Younger, and for Xenophon to be now alive, the Prefaces of d'Ablancourt would deserve to be translated by Xenophon. The Reader will observe that this forc'd Style was in Fashion  
 among*

Menage  
 upon Laertius, p.  
 103.

Balzac,  
 Letters to  
 Conrart,  
 1 B.

*among the French in Balzac's Time, that is, in the Infancy of their Taste; the Writers of that Age seem to have impos'd an Obligation upon themselves of being for ever witty; they were often so, but that was not enough; this eternal Straining after Wit oblig'd them many Times to have Recourse to forc'd Turns of Thought, and, sometimes, to what their Language calls Phœbis, that is, shining Expressions that seem to signify something. After the Reader has compared the many Passages I have taken the Liberty to censure in d'Ablancourt with the Original, he will be able to judge how far he has surpass'd Xenophon in the Elegance of his Style, and how far, according to the Supposition of Balzac, his Works might deserve to be translated by Xenophon. But there is an old English Translation of the Expedition of Cyrus by John Bingham, printed in 1623, and dedicated to the Right Worshipful the Artillery Company. The first Notice I had of this Translation was by a Note of Hutchinson about the Middle of the last Book; he also mentions it towards the End of the same Book, where Xenophon says Gongylus march'd out to the Assistance of the*  
Greeks

Greeks βίη τῆς Μητρὸς, upon which Occasion, Hutchinson says vis phraeos omnino latuit versionis Anglicanæ Authorem; and, indeed, he had great Reason to say so, for, upon looking into Bingham's Translation, I find he has render'd that Passage, by Compulsion of his Mother, whereas he should have said against his Mother's Will, in which Sense all the other Translators have render'd it. I do not remember that Hutchinson has taken any Notice of this Translation but upon these two Occasions. Finding therefore, by Hutchinson's Note before mention'd, when I had not more than half the last Book remaining to compleat my Translation, that there was an old English Version of the Expedition, I employed several of the most eminent Booksellers in Town to get it for me, but all in vain; for none of them could find it, neither would they be persuaded there was any such Book extant, 'till I referred them to that Note of Hutchinson: However, at last I got a Sight of it from a publick Library. Upon comparing it with the Original, I found the Author was a Man of some Learning, from whence I conclude that he must have

*made Use of some very faulty Edition, otherwise, it is not possible that a Man of Learning, (for such he really seems to have been) should ever have been guilty of so many Mistakes, as are to be met with through the whole Course of his Translation: As to his Style, it seems to be, at least, a Century older than That in which he writ. There is, in the fourth Book, a Conversation between Xenophon, and Cheirisophus, in which they rally one another upon the Art of Stealing, so much practis'd by their respective Countries; the Foundation of which Rallery is the Advice given by Xenophon to steal a March to some Part of a Mountain they were to pass. As the Spirit of Rallery is, of all others, the most likely to be lost in a Translation, for that Reason, Rallery itself is the last Thing one would chuse to translate, if it did not necessarily come in one's Way; upon this Occasion, therefore, I was in Hopes of receiving some Assistance from the old English Translation, which I should both have made Use of, and acknowledged very readily; but, upon Examination, I found this Passage translated in the following*

*following Manner, it seemeth to me not impossible to steal some Part or other of the Hill. After this, I dare say, it will easily be concluded that I could entertain no great Hopes of any Assistance from that Quarter. Many ancient Authors, both Greek, and Latin, and, particularly, those, who were themselves fine Writers, as well as judicious Criticks, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Tully, have celebrated the Beauty of our Author's Style, his Perspicuity, and that peculiar Sweetness in his Composition, which made his Writings be called the Language of the Muses: The latter goes so far as to say that Lucullus, being sent to make War upon Mithridates, which was no easy Province, and being unacquainted with the Duty of a General, acquir'd, by reading the Expedition of Cyrus, so great a Knowledge in the Art of War, as to owe his Victories against that Prince to the Information he receiv'd from it. However this may be, we find, by the Commentaries of Cæsar, that he often made Use of the same Dispositions against the Gauls, which Xenophon had employed, with so great Success, against the*

Persians: *But, what is much more for the Credit of our Author, it is obvious that the Expedition of Cyrus was the Model of those Commentaries; the same Elegance, the same Clearness of Expression, the same unaffected Grace, are the distinguishing Characters of both; and, possibly, the Greek, and Latin Languages, have nothing in their Kind more perfect than these two admirable Performances. I am sensible that all Commendations bestowed upon the Original, tend to expose the Translation to Censure, which I ought not, in Prudence, wantonly to solicit; but I was willing, if I could not do Justice to Xenophon by translating him, to endeavour to do it, at least, by commending him: This may be thought a small Amends for the former: However, the Determination of this Question must be left to the Voice of the People, who are still Sovereigns in This, and who, as they were formerly remarkable for their Justice in deciding the Fate of Mankind, are still not less so in determining That of their Productions; so that,*

# P R E F A C E.

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*to use the Words of my Ancestor, \* in the Preface to his Glossary, I submit my Labours, and Errors to the Publick.*

\* Sir *Henry Spelman*, who was great great Grandfather to the Author,







A  
SHORT ACCOUNT  
OF  
*XENOPHON*

**X***ENOPHON* was an *Athenian*; his Father's Name *Gryllus*. All that we know of him 'till he attended *Cyrus* in his Expedition, is, that he was a Disciple of *Socrates*. If, to have been a Disciple of that great Man was an Instance of his good Fortune, the Improvement he made of that Education is an Instance of his Merit; and, indeed, nothing less than the happiest Disposition, the best Education, and the greatest Improvement of both, could render *Xenophon* that universal Man we find him in his Writing: his *Cyropædia* shews him

him to have possess'd, in a sovereign Degree, the Art of Government; his *Expedition of Cyrus* shews him a compleat General; his History, an entertaining, an instructive, and a faithful Historian; his Panegyrick of *Agésilas*, an Orator; and his Treatise of Hunting, a Sportsman; his Apology for *Socrates*, and the Account he gives of his Manner of conversing, shew that he was both a Friend, and a Philosopher; and all of them, that he was a good Man. This appears remarkably in his preserving *Byzantium* from being plunder'd by his Soldiers, who, having gain'd no other Reward of the dangerous Expedition they had been engag'd in, but their Preservation, were not only strongly tempted to plunder that Town by the Hope of making their Fortunes, but justly provok'd to it by the disingenuous Behaviour of the *Lacedæmonian* Governour; yet these two lawless Passions, Avarice, and Revenge, the Authority, and Eloquence of *Xenophon* quite subdued,

As *Cyrus* had assisted the *Lacedæmonians* in their War against the *Athenians*, the latter look'd upon *Xenophon's* Attach-

ment to that Prince as criminal, and banish'd him for engaging in his Service. After this, *Xenophon* attended *Agésilas*, when he was sent for by the *Lacedæmonians* with his Army from *Asia*; where, the Success of his Arms gave something more than Uneasiness to *Artaxerxes*, who, not without Cause, began to fear the same Fate from *Agésilas*, which his Successor, *Darius*, afterwards found from *Alexander*; but the former, by corrupting the *Greek* Cities, and, by that Means, engaging them to make War upon the *Lacedæmonians*, suspended the Fate of *Persia* for a Time: But, in all Evils, Relief, obtain'd by Corruption, is only a Respite, not a Cure; for, when *Alexander* invaded *Persia*, the same low Arts were again practis'd by *Darius* to recall him from *Asia*, by a Diversion in *Greece*; but, these proving ineffectual, the *Persians*, by trusting more to the Vices of their Enemies, than to their own Virtue, became an easy Conquest. *Agésilas*, soon after he return'd, fought the Battle of *Coronea*, where, though wound-

ed, he defeated the *Thebans*, and their Allies; at this Battle *Xenophon* was present. After that, he retir'd to *Scilus*, where he pass'd

Xenoph.

λόγος εἰς

47ης.

pass'd his Time in reading, the Conversation of his Friends, Sporting, and writing History. But, this Place, being over-run by the *Eleans*, in whose Neighbourhood it was, *Xenophon* went to *Corinth*, where he liv'd till the first Year of the 105th Olympiad, when he died in the ninety-first Year of his Age: So that, he must have been about fifty Years of Age at the Time of the Expedition of *Cyrus*, which was the fourth Year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad, just forty Years before. I am sensible some learned Men are of Opinion that he was not so old at the Time of the Expedition, though I see no Reason to disbelieve *Lucian* in this Particular, who says that *Xenophon* was above ninety Years <sup>περί</sup> of Age when he died. However, this is be- <sup>μακροβ.</sup> yond all Dispute, that he liv'd till after the Battle of *Mantineia*, which, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, was in the second Year <sup>Diod. Sic.</sup> of the 104th Olympiad, because he closes <sup>15 B.</sup> his History of the Affairs of *Greece* with the Account of that Battle: In which Account it is very extraordinary that he should say nothing more of the most remarkable Incident in it, I mean the Death of *Epaminondas*, than *that he fell* in the Action; but this  
may

may be accounted for by that Modesty, which was the distinguishing Character of our Author, because it is well known that *Epaminondas* fell by the Hand of *Gryllus*, the Son of *Xenophon*, who was sent by his Father to the Assistance of the *Athenians*. It will easily be imagin'd that a General, at the Head of a victorious Army, then pursuing his Victory, could not be attacked, much less slain, without manifest Danger to the daring Enemy, who should attempt it. This *Gryllus* found, for he had no sooner lanc'd the fatal Dart, which depriv'd *Thebes* of the greatest General of that Age, but he was cut to Pieces by the Friends of *Epaminondas*. When the News of his Death was brought to *Xenophon*, he said no more than that *he knew he was mortal*.





T H E

## INTRODUCTION.

**N**OTHING seems to contribute more to the forming a clear Idea of any Transaction in History than a previous Knowledge both of the Persons, and Things that gave Birth to it ; for, when the Reader is once acquainted with the Characters, and Views of the principal Actors, and with what has been done in Consequence of both, the Scene unfolds in so natural a Manner, that the most extraordinary Events in History are look'd upon in the same Light as the most surprizing Phenomena in Philosophy ; that is, like these, they are found to be the necessary Result of such Principles, as the all-wise Creator has thought fit to establish ; and, like these, are as little to be wonder'd at, and as easy  
to

to be accounted for. In Order, therefore, to enable the Reader to view the Consequences in their Principles, and contemplate the Embryo Plant in its Seed, I shall lay before him a short Account of the most remarkable Transactions, that seem to have had an immediate Influence upon That, which *Xenophon* has chosen for the Subject of his History. The Affairs of the *Athenians*, and *Lacedæmonians*, had been, for some Time before the Expedition of *Cyrus*, so much interwoven with those of *Persia*, that all three seem to have had a Share in every remarkable Event, that happen'd to each of them : Thus, the Supplies of Money with which *Lyfander*, the *Lacedæmonian* General, was furnish'd by *Cyrus*, enabled him to carry on the War against the *Athenians* with Advantage, and, at last, to give them a decisive Blow at *Ægos Potamos*, which ended in the taking of *Athens* ; and, on the other Side, the Assistance which *Cyrus* receiv'd from the *Lacedæmonians*, both by Sea, and Land, in return, encourag'd him to an Attempt of no less Moment than the dethroning his Brother *Artaxerxes*. The several Steps which led to this Enterprize  
equally

equally great, unfortunate, and unwarrantable, shall be taken Notice of in the Order of Time in which they happen'd; in this short Survey, I shall avoid entering into any Chronological Discussions, which often puzzle, seldom inform, and never entertain, but confine myself almost entirely to *Diodorus Siculus*, who, besides the Character he has deservedly obtain'd for Fidelity, and Exactness, had the Advantage of living many Centuries nearer the Transactions he recounts, than those who differ from him in Chronology, as well as That of consulting many Authors, whose Works are unfortunately lost to modern Ages: Neither shall I go farther back than the taking of *Athens* by the *Lacedæmonians*, which hap-<sup>Diod Sic.</sup>  
 pen'd in the fourth Year of the ninety-third<sub>13 L.</sub> Olympiad, and put an End to the *Peloponnesian* War, after it had lasted twenty-seven Years. The same Year died *Darius Ochus*,<sup>1b.</sup> King of *Persia*, after a Reign of nineteen Years, and left his Kingdom to his eldest Son *Artaxerxes*, who was born before he was King: *Parysatis*, his Queen, the most artful of all Women, and Mother both to *Artaxerxes*, and *Cyrus*, tried the Power of  
 every



Herodotus  
in Poly-  
hymnia.

every Practice to engage *Darius* to imitate his Predecessor, *Darius Hystaspes*, who prefer'd his Son *Xerxes*, born after his Accession, to *Artobazanes*, who was born before it; but all her Efforts prov'd ineffectual, and *Artaxerxes* succeeded his Father without Opposition. If the Arts of *Parysatis* could not prevail with *Darius* to set his eldest Son aside, her Fondness for *Cyrus* not only encourag'd him to form a Design against his Brother's Life, but rescued him, if not, from Disgrace, at least, from Punishment, when it was discover'd. The next Year, which was the first of the ninety-fourth Olympiad, there happen'd an Eclipse of the Sun, which is only taken Notice of, as it is no small Satisfaction to find History, upon this Occasion, supported by Astronomy, by which it appears that the Eclipse of the Sun, mention'd by *Xenophon*, in his *Greek History*, to have happen'd this Year, fell out on the third Day of *September*, upon a *Friday*, at twelve Minutes after Nine a-clock. The same Year, *Cyrus* return'd to his Government in *Asia Minor*, with a Mind more exasperated at his Disgrace, than terrified with his Danger, and immediately resolv'd

Xenophon, 2B.  
Usser. p.  
128.  
Petav. de  
doctr.  
Temp. 13  
B.

to repair the Disappointment of private Treason by open Hostility ; to this Purpose, he addresses himself to the *Lacedæmonians*, who cheerfully espouse his Quarrel. This Intercourse between *Cyrus*, and the *Lacedæmonians*, could not be carried on so privately, as to escape the Notice of *Alcibiades*, who, being banish'd from his Country, was now retir'd to *Grynium*, a strong Place in *Phrygia*, appointed by *Pharnabazus* for his Residence, to whom he immediately communicates his Intelligence, desiring him, at the same Time, to appoint proper Persons to conduct him to Court, that he might give *Artaxerxes* an Account of the whole : But *Pharnabazus*, being willing to have the Merit of a Discovery of so great Importance, sent Persons of Trust to *Artaxerxes* to lay the Information before him. *Alcibiades*, suspecting his Design, left *Pharnabazus*, with an Intention to apply himself to the Satrapæ of *Paphlagonia*, to the End that, through him, he might be recommended to *Artaxerxes* ; but *Pharnabazus*, fearing the King should, by this Means, be inform'd of the Truth, prevented

Ephorus,  
17 B. in  
Diod. Sic.

vented his Design, by ordering him to be put to Death.

Diod. Sic.  
14 B. THE next Year, that is, the second of the ninety-fourth Olympiad brings *Clearchus* upon the Stage; he makes so considerable a Figure in the ensuing History both by his Conduct, and his Fate, that the Incident we are going to speak of, which happen'd just before he engag'd himself in the Service of *Cyrus*, and which seems to have driven him into it, must not be omitted: It seems, the Inhabitants of *Byzantium* being engag'd in Factions, the *Lacedæmonians* sent *Clearchus* to compose their Differences, who uniting them in nothing but their Complaints against himself, the Ephori recall'd him: But he, refusing to obey their Orders, they sent *Panthædas* with some Troops, to force him to a Submission. With these he defeated *Clearchus*, and oblig'd him to fly to *Ionia*; here he was receiv'd with open Arms by *Cyrus*, to whom his Experience in military Affairs, his enterprizing Genius, and, possibly, even his Rebellion, were, at this Juncture, no small Recommendations; since he could  
not

not but look upon a Man, who had dared to fly in the Face of his Country, as a proper Person to bear Command in an Army, which he was raising to invade his own. It was upon this Occasion that *Cyrus* gave him the ten thousand Daricks mention'd by *Xenophon*, with which he levied a considerable Number of Forces, and engag'd them in his Service.

THE next Year *Diodorus Siculus* passes over without taking Notice of any Thing relating to this Expedition, so we may conclude that *Cyrus* employed it in continuing his Preparations under various Pretences, particularly, since we find him in the Field early the Year after. *Sardès*, the Capital of *Lydia*, and, formerly, the Residence of its Kings, was the Place of general Rendezvous; from hence *Cyrus* march'd at the Head of about twelve thousand eight hundred *Greeks*, and one hundred thousand *Barbarians*, to dispute the Crown of *Persia* with his Brother *Artaxerxes*; and, from hence, *Xenophon*, who came to him to *Sardès*, begins his History of this Expedition.

THE Year, which decided this great Contest, was the 783d Year from the taking of Troy, the 351st of Rome, *Publius Cornelius, Caesar Fabius, Spurius Nautius, Caius Valerius, Marcius Sergius,* and *Junius Lucullus* being military Tribunes; and the fourth Year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad, *Exænetus* being Archon at Athens: This Expedition has, I find, been thought of Consequence enough to be taken Notice of in the *Arundel Marble*, the eightieth *Æra* of which has these Words, \* *From the Time those, who ascended with Cyrus, return'd, and Socrates, the Philosopher, died, being seventy Years of Age, one hundred and thirty-seven Years, Laches being Archon at Athens,*

THE Year the *Greeks* return'd was the Year after they march'd from *Sardes*, since *Xenophon* says they were fifteen Months in their

\* The Words of the *Arundel Marble* are these:

ΑΡΧΩΝ ΕΠΙΧΛΗΘΩΝ ΟΙ ΜΕΤΑ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΝΤΕΣ  
ΚΑΙ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ ΕΤΕΛΕΤΗΝ ΕΒΙΟΝ  
ΕΤΗΓΑΔΔΕΤΗ ΗΔΑΔΠΙ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΗΣ  
ΑΧΗΝΟΣ.

their Expedition, and, consequently, that Year was the first of the ninety-fifth Olympiad ; the Authority of the *Arundel* Marble is supported by *Diodorus Siculus*, who <sup>Diod. Sic.</sup> says that *Laches* was Archon that Year at <sup>14 B.</sup> *Athens*, and that *Socrates* was put to Death the same Year.



THE













THE  
EXPEDITION  
OF  
C Y R U S.

*Translated from* XENOPHON.

---

BOOK I.

---

**D**ARIUS<sup>3</sup> and *Parysatis* had two Sons, of whom *Artaxerxes* was the Elder, and *Cyrus* the Younger. When *Darius* lay sick, and thought himself near his End, he desired both

<sup>3</sup> *D' Ablancourt* has thought fit to change the Title given by *Xenophon* to his History, and, instead of *The Expedition of Cyrus*, to call it, *La Retraite des dix mille*; the reason he gives for it is this, he says Things ought to derive their Name from that which is most remarkable in them, and that the Expedition is nothing in comparison

Vo L. I. B

both his Sons might attend him. The Eldest happen'd to be present: *Cyrus* he sent for from his Government with which he <sup>4</sup> had invested him,

comparifon to the Retreat. I own this Reason does not perfuade me; whatever weight it ought to have had with the Author, I think it fhould have none with a Tranflator.

<sup>2</sup> *Αναβάσεως*. Every one who is converfant with the *Greek* Authors, knows, that, whenever they fpeak not only of military Expeditions, but even of Journeys undertaken by private Perfons from the *Leffer Asia* to *Babylon* or *Sufa*, the Residence of the *Persian* Kings, they ufe the word *ἀναβαίνειν*; the fame word came afterwards to be applied to the City of *Rome*, tho' more rarely: *Arrian*, who, in his Expedition of *Alexander*, has followed our Author, not only in the Diftribution of his Work into feven Books, but in his Style, as far as he was able, has alfo copied him in his Title, calling his Hiftory alfo, *ἀνάβασις Αλεξάνδρου*. *Hutchinfon* thinks that the Rivers of that Part of *Asia* in queftion falling into the *Ægean* and *Mediterranean* Seas, gave occafion to thefe Terms *ἀναβαίνειν*, and *καταβαίνειν*; but it is certain that almoft all the great Rivers of that part of *Asia* run either to the North or South, as the *Halys*, the *Iris*, the *Thermodon*, the *Tigris*, and the *Euphrates*.

<sup>3</sup> *Δαρείος ἡ Παρυσάτιδος*, &c. This firft Period *Demetrius Phalereus*, as full of Dignity and hiftorical Simplicity.

<sup>4</sup> *Καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε*. *D'Ablancourt* has vifibly miftaken this Paffage, he makes *Darius* conftitute *Cyrus* General at his Arrival at Court, *à fa venue*; whereas it not only appears from this Paffage, but from Hiftory alfo, that he was actually invested with that Employment when he was fent for: I wifh the old *Latin* Tranflation, which fays, *Prætozem designat*, did not lead him into this Error; *Hutchinfon* has tranflated it properly, *Præfectum designaverat*. I faid that this alfo appear'd from Hiftory: Our Author,

him, as \* *Satràpe*, having also appointed him General of all the People, who assemble in the Plain of *Castolus*. Hereupon *Cyrus* comes to Court, accompanied by *Tissaphernes* as his Friend, and attended by three hundred heavy-arm'd *Greeks*, under the Command of *Xenias* of *Parrhasie*.

AFTER

in his Account of the Affairs of *Greece*, mentions a Letter to have been written by *Darius* to the People of the *Lesser Asia*, six Years before this Expedition of *Cyrus*; in this Letter, *Darius* gives them notice of his having appointed *Cyrus* Commander in Chief of those People, who assemble in the Plain of *Castolus*: The Words of the Letter are these; καταπέμπω Κύρου Κάρανου τῶν εἰς Κασωλὸν ἀθροισομένων. τὸ δὲ Κάρανόν ἐστι Κύριον. Xenoph. Ἑλλην. B.

\* *Σατραπείης*, tho' used both by *Latin* and *Greek* Authors, is a *Persian* Word, and signifies a Commander, a General; *Σατράπαι*, *Αρχηγοί*, *στρατηλάται*, *Περσικὴ δὲ ἡ λέξις*. *Hesychius*. *Herodotus* says, *Darius Hystaspes* appointed twenty of these Governments, ἀρχὰς in *Thalia* κατεστήσατο ἑικοσι, τὰς αὐτοὶ καλέουσι *Σατραπείας*.

\* *Ὀπλίτας*. *D' Ablancourt* excuses himself for not distinguishing these heavy-arm'd Men in his Translation; but I do not only think it necessary to distinguish them from the light-arm'd, but to give some account of their Distinction. There are three different kinds of Foot-Soldiers chiefly mention'd by our Author in the Course of this History, the *Ὀπλίται*, the *Ψιλοί*, and the *Πελταςταί*; of whom, and of their respective Armour, *Arrian* gives the following Account in his *Tactics*: τὸ ὀπλιτικόν, says he, ἔχει θώρακας, καὶ ἄσπίδας παραμήκεις, καὶ μαχαίρας, καὶ δόρατα, ὡς Ἑλλήνες, καὶ σαρίσσας, ὡς Μακεδόνες. The heavy-arm'd Men have Corslets, long Shields, and Swords, and Pikes, like the *Greeks*, and Spears, like the *Macedonians*. τὸ δὲ ψιλὸν ἐναντιώτατον ἔχει τῷ ὀπλιτικῷ πᾶν, ὅτι περ

AFTER the Death of *Darius*, and the  
Accession of *Artaxerxes*, ' *Tissaphernes*  
accuses

ἀνεν θώρακε, καὶ ἀσπίδι, καὶ κυνημίδι, καὶ κράνῃς,  
ἐκτιβόλοις τοῖς ὀπλοῖς διαχρώμενον, τοξέυμασιν, ἢ ἀκου-  
τίοις, ἢ σφενδόναϊς, ἢ λίθοις ἐκ χειρὸς. The light-  
arm'd Men are arm'd in a quite different manner from  
the heavy-arm'd, they have no Corslets, or Shields,  
Greaves, or Helmets, but altogether make use of mis-  
sive Weapons, such as Arrows, Darts, and Stones  
thrown by Slings, and out of hand. τὸ δὲ πελταστ-  
κὸν δὲ καφώτερον μὲν τυγχάνει ὅν τῷ ὀπλιτικῷ· ἡ γὰρ  
πέλτη, σμικρότερον τῆς ἀσπίδος δὲ ἐλαφρότερον, δὲ τὰ  
ἀκόντια τῶν δοράτων δὲ σαφισσῶν λειπόμενα, βαρύτερον δὲ  
τῷ ψιλῷ. The Targeteers are arm'd in a lighter man-  
ner than the heavy-arm'd Men, for their Bucklers are  
smaller and lighter than the Shields of the latter, and  
their Darts shorter than their Pikes and Spears; but  
their Armour is heavier than that of the light-arm'd.  
These three kinds of Foot-Soldiers are so often men-  
tion'd by *Xenophon* to have been employ'd by the *Greek*  
Generals, and particularly by himself upon different  
occasions, according to the difference of their Armour  
and Manner of fighting, that I thought it necessary at  
first to give the Reader a clear Idea of that difference.

Plutarch in Alcibiades. <sup>6</sup> Τισσαφέρνην. This is the same *Tissaphernes*, over  
whom *Alcibiades* gain'd so great an Ascendant, that  
he govern'd him not only in his Politicks, but his  
Pleasures. We shall find him in the Course of this  
History at the Head of the *Persian* Army, that endea-  
vour'd in vain to cut off the Retreat of the *Greeks*: But  
the Treachery he was guilty of in relation to the *Greek*  
Generals, after they had incautiously put themselves in  
his Hands, must render his Name so odious, that it  
may not be unacceptable to the Reader to be in-  
form'd of his Fate after this History leaves him. *Age-  
filaus* being sent by the *Lacedemonians* at the Head  
of an Army into *Asia*, and having gain'd many Ad-  
vantages over the *Persians*, *Artaxerxes* look'd upon *Tis-  
saphernes* as the Cause of the ill Success of his Arms,  
and

Diodor.  
Sic. 14 B.

accuses *Cyrus* to his Brother of Treason : *Artaxerxes* gives credit to the Accusation, and orders *Cyrus* to be apprehended, with a design to put him to death : but his Mother having saved him by her Intercession, sends him back to his Government. *Cyrus*, as soon as he left the Court after this Danger and Disgrace, <sup>7</sup> deliberates by what means he may no longer be subject to his Brother, but, if possible, reign in his place. In this he was <sup>8</sup> supported by his Mother *Parysatis*, who had a greater love for *Cyrus*, than for the King *Artaxerxes* ; and when any Persons belonging to the Court resorted to him, he sent them back more

B 3

dispos'd

and being incens'd against him by *Parysatis*, in revenge for his Behaviour to *Cyrus*, he appointed *Tithraustes* to succeed him in his Government with Orders to cut off his Head : This happen'd in the first Year of the 96<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, that is, about five Years after the Expedition of *Cyrus*.

<sup>7</sup> Βουλευεται ὡς μήποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ. This is render'd by *d'Ablancourt*, *il songea aux moyens de se venger de cet affront* ; which may be a Translation of any other Passage, as well as of this.

<sup>8</sup> Παρύσατις μὲν δὴ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ, &c. *Leunclavius* has translated this Passage, as if ὑπάρχω signified here εἰμι, in the same sense as *Plutarch* uses the Word, speaking of this very thing, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε μᾶλλον τὸν Κύρον φιλεῖσα ; but every body knows that ὑπάρχω, with a Dative Case, signifies to favour ; *Hutchinson* has said very properly, *mater a Cyri partibus stetit*. *D'Ablancourt* has thought fit to leave out this Period entirely.

dispos'd to favour him than the King : Besides, he took so great care of the *Barbarians* who were with him, 'as to render them both good Soldiers, and affectionate to his Service : He also levied an Army of *Greeks* with all possible Secrecy, that he might find the King in no degree prepar'd to resist him. And whenever he recruited the Garrisons that were dispers'd in the several Cities under his Command, he order'd each of their Officers to enlist as many *Peloponnēsiāns* as possible, and of those the best Men they could get, under pretence that *Tissaphernes* had a design upon those Cities. For the Cities of *Ionīa* formerly belong'd to *Tissaphernes*, having been given to him by the King, but at that time they had all revolted from him to *Cyrus*, except <sup>9</sup> *Miletus* : The Inhabitants of which being engag'd in the same Design, and *Tissaphernes* having early notice of their In-

tentions,

<sup>9</sup> Μιλήτις. A considerable City of *Ionīa*, not far from the Mouth of the *Mæander* ; at the time of the *Trojan War* it was inhabited, according to *Homer*, by the *Carians*, whom he mentions among the Allies of *Troy*.

II. β.

Νέσσης αὖ Καρῶν ἡγήσατο βαρβαρόφωνων

Ὁ δὲ Μίλητον ἔχον.

Herodot.  
in Erat.

This Town, having revolted from the *Persians*, at the Instigation of *Aristagoras*, was retaken by them six Years after that Revolt. About sixty-seven Years after the Time our Author speaks of, *Alexander* took *Miletus*, after a brave Resistance from the Garrison, consisting of three hundred *Greeks* then in the Service of the King of *Persia*.

Arrian,  
1 Book.

tentions, put some of them to death, and banished others; these *Cyrus* received, and raising an Army besieg'd *Miletus* both by Sea and Land, endeavouring to restore the banished Citizens: this he made another pretence for raising an Army; and sending to the King, he desired, that, as he was his Brother, he might have the Command of these Cities, rather than *Tissaphernes*: in this also he was assisted by his Mother; so that the King was not sensible of the Design that was form'd against him, but looking upon these Preparations as directed against *Tissaphernes*, was under no concern at their making war upon one another: For *Cyrus* sent the King all the Taxes, that were rais'd in those Cities, which had been under the Government of *Tissaphernes*.

HE had also another Army rais'd for him in the *Chersonesus*, over-against *Abydus*, in this manner. There was a banish'd *Lacedemonian*, his Name *Clearchus*; *Cyrus*, becoming acquainted with him, <sup>10</sup> admir'd the Man, and made him a Present of  
ten

<sup>10</sup> Ἠγάσθη τε αὐτόν. Ἀγαμαι, θαυμάζω. *Phavorinus*. In this sense I have translated it, tho' I must own I am pleas'd with what *d'Ablancourt* says, *Cyrus*



ten thousand <sup>11</sup> Daricks; with this Money *Clearchus* rais'd an Army, and marching out

*le gouta*. As *Clearchus* makes a considerable Figure in this Expedition, our Author has given his Character at the end of the second Book; but there being some Particulars relating to him mention'd in *Diodorus Siculus*, which are not there taken notice of, I thought the Reader might not be displeas'd to be inform'd of them, for which reason I have mention'd them in the Introduction.

- Aristoph.** <sup>11</sup> Δαρεικός. The Darick was a *Persian* Gold Coin.  
**Εκκλη- Σειδus, Harpocraton,** and the Scholiast of *Aristophanes*,  
**σιαζουσών.** say it was of equal value with the *Attick* χρυσός, of  
 with twenty silver Drachms, that is, the 5<sup>th</sup> part of a  
 silver Minc, sixty of which made a Talent, which last  
 Arbuth- amounted to 193—15—0 Sterling; so that ten thousand  
 not of an- Daricks will make 33  $\frac{1}{3}$  Talents, or 6458—6—8 of  
 cient Coins. our Money. On the reverse of this Coin was an Ar-  
 cher, which gave occasion to *Agesslaus* to say, that he  
 Plutarch was driven out of *Asia* by thirty thousand Archers,  
 in Artax- meaning so many Daricks distributed among the Great  
 xerxes, Cities by the King of *Persia*. The Authors before  
 mentioned inform us, that this Coin did not derive  
 its Name from *Darius* the Father of *Xerxes*, but from  
 another more ancient King; who that should be, is not  
 so well understood, since *Darius Hystaspes*, the Father  
 of *Xerxes*, and one of the seven *Persian* Noblemen,  
 Herodot. who put the Magi to death, was the first *Persian* King  
 in Thalia. of that Name. I am sensible *Prideaux* is of opinion,  
 that *Cyaxares* the Brother of *Manthane*, and Uncle of  
 Daniel v. the first *Cyrus*, is *Darius* the *Mede* mentioned by *Da-*  
 niel, from whom, he says, this Coin took its Name,  
 and who caus'd it to be struck at *Babylon* during the  
 Xenophon two Years he reign'd there; but *Xenophon*, in his *Cy-*  
 in Κύρου κρη- *rtopædia*, mentions some of this Coin to have been found  
 παιδεία. among other Riches, by *Cyrus*, in a Castle belonging  
 5 B. to *Gobryas*, even before the taking of *Babylon* by the  
*Medes* and *Persians*. Sir *Isaac Newton* thinks that  
*Darius* the *Mede*, when he and *Cyrus* took *Sardes*,  
 melted down all the *Lydian* Money he found there,  
 and

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out of the *Chersonesus*, made war upon the *Thracians*, who inhabit above the *Hellefpont*, to the great Advantage of the *Greeks*; this induc'd the Cities upon the *Hellefpont* to subsist his Forces with great Chearfulness. Thus was this Army also secretly maintain'd for his Service. *Aristippus* of *Theffaly*, between whom and *Cyrus* there was an Intercourse of <sup>12</sup> Hospitality, being

oppress'd

and recoin'd it with his own Effigies. But *Xenophon* speaks of Daricks upon the occasion already mention'd, even before the taking of *Sardes*, which preceded that of *Babylon*. It is not possible this could have escap'd a Man, to whom nothing either in History or Nature was unknown; it is much more probable that he look'd upon it as an Anticipation in *Xenophon*, which Opinion, I find, prevails with some learned Men. There is however a Passage in *Herodotus* in *Melpomene*, which *Herodot.* almost inclines one to think, that *Darius Hystaspes* in *Melpomene* was the Author of this Coin, notwithstanding what *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, and the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* say to the contrary; he says there, that *Darius Hystaspes* refin'd Gold to all the Pureness that was possible, and coin'd it into Money, Δαρειῶν μὲν χρυσίου καθαρώτατον ἀπεψήσας εἰς τὸ δυνατότατον, νόμισμα ἐκόψατο:

Now it is certain that all Authors celebrate the Daricks for the Fineness of the Gold: And a few Lines before, the same Author says, *Darius* did this with a view of leaving behind him such a Monument as no other King had done, μνημόσυνον ἐωυτῷ λιπέσθαι τῷτο τὸ μὴ ἄλλω εἶη βασιλεῖ καταργασμένου.

<sup>12</sup> *Ξένος*. *Ξένος* καλεῖται ὁ ὑποδεχόμενος, καὶ ὁ ὑποδεχθεῖς. *Phavorinus*. In the same manner *Hospes*, every one knows, has both an active and passive Signification. These Rights of Hospitality were of ancient Date, and of so sacred a Nature, that *Jupiter* himself

was

oppress'd by a contrary Faction at home, comes to him, demanding two thousand Mercenaries, and their Pay for three Months, in hope, by their assistance, to subdue his Adversaries: *Cyrus* grants him four thousand Men, and six Months Pay, desiring him to come to no Terms with his Adversaries without consulting him: In this manner the Army in *Thessaly* was also privately maintain'd for his Use. At the same time he order'd *Proxenus* the *Bæotian*, a Friend

of  
was thought to preside over them, and to punish the Violations committed against them; for which reason  
Odyf. 1. he was called ξένιϙ; with whom *Ulysses* in *Homer* endeavours, to very little purpose, to threaten *Polypheme*.

Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμῆτωρ ἱκετάων τε ξείνων τε  
Ξένιϙ, ὃς ξείνοισιν ἄμ' αἰδόιοισιν ὀπηδεῖ.

*Æneid.* This Tradition *Virgil* has, among many others, trans-  
1 Book. planted into his *Æneid*; where the unhappy *Dido*, when she first entertain'd her *Trojan* Guest, implores the Favour of *Jupiter*:

*Jupiter, Hospitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur.*

Plin. N.H. *Pliny* has translated ξένιϙ, *hospitalis*, in the Account  
36 B. he gives of a Statue of *Jupiter* under that Denomination; this Statue was the Work of *Pamphilus*, a Disciple of *Praxiteles*, and to be seen in the Collection of *Afinius Pollio*. The same Word signifies Mercenaries a little lower, from whence comes ξεντεύεσθαι, μισθοφορεῖν, ξένοι δὲ οἱ μισθοφόροι. *Harporation*.

<sup>13</sup> Συμβλεύσεται. The difference between συμβλεύεσθαι and συμβλεύειν, appears very particularly from a Passage in *Herodotus* in *Polyhymnia*, συμβλευομένη τε αὖ συμβλεύσειε τὰ ἀριστα; where the former signifies to ask Advice, and the latter to give it.

*Herodot.*  
in *Poly-*  
*hymnia*.

of his, to attend him with all the Men he could raise, giving it out that he design'd to make war upon the<sup>14</sup> *Pisidians*, who, it was said, infested his Country. He then order'd *Sophænetus* the *Stymphalian*, and *Socrates* the *Achaian*, with whom also he had an Interchange of Hospitality, to come to him with as many Men as they could raise, pretending to make war upon *Tissaphernes*, in conjunction with the banish'd *Milesians*: These too obeyed his Commands.

HAVING NOW determin'd to march into the *Upper Asia*, he pretended his Design was to drive the *Pisidians* entirely out of the Country: and, as against them, he assembles there both his *Barbarian* and *Greek* Forces; commanding at the same time *Clearchus* with all his Troops to attend him, and *Aristippus* to come to an Agreement with his Fellow-Citizens, and send his Army to him. He also appointed *Xenias* the *Arcadian*, who had the Command of the Mercenaries in the several Cities, to come to him with all his Men, leaving only sufficient Garrisons in the Citadels.

He

<sup>14</sup> Πισιδῆς. The *Pisidians* inhabited the mountainous Part of *Asia Minor*, which lies between the *Strabo*, *Phrygians*, *Lydians*, and *Carians*, to whom they were<sup>12 Book.</sup> very troublesome Neighbours.

He next order'd all the Troops that were employed in the Siege of *Miletus*, together with the banish'd Citizens, to join him <sup>15</sup>, engaging to the last, if his Expedition was attended with success, not to lay down his Arms, till he had restor'd them. These chearfully obey'd him, (for they gave credit to what he said) and, taking their Arms with them, came to *Sardes*. *Xenias* also came thither with the Garrisons he had drawn out of the Cities, consisting of four thousand heavy-arm'd Men. *Proxenus* brought with him fifteen hundred heavy-arm'd and five hundred <sup>16</sup> light-arm'd Men. *Sophanetus* the *Stymphalian* a thousand heavy-arm'd; *Socrates* the *Achaian* about five hundred heavy-arm'd: *Pasion* the *Magarean* seven hundred Men. Both he and *Socrates* were among those who were employed in the Siege of *Miletus*. These came to him to <sup>17</sup> *Sardes*. *Tissaphernes* observing all this,

and

<sup>15</sup> Ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς, εἰ καλῶς καταπράξειεν ἐφ' ᾧ ἐστρατεύετο, μὴ πρόσθεν παύσασθαι, πρὶν, &c. This Sentence is thus translated by *d' Ablancourt*, avec assurance de ne plus faire d'entreprise avant leur rétablissement; which is so apparently foreign from the Author's Sense, that it is unnecessary to make any Observations upon it.

<sup>16</sup> Γυμνῆτας. These are the same with ψιλοὶ, mention'd in the fifth Annotation.

<sup>17</sup> Σάρδεις. *Sardes* was the Capital of *Lydia*, and the

and looking upon these Preparations as greater than were necessary against the *Pisidians*, went <sup>18</sup> to the King with all the haste he could, taking with him about five hundred Horse; and the King being inform'd by *Tisaphernes* of the intended <sup>19</sup> Expedition of *Cyrus*, prepar'd himself to oppose him.

*CYRUS* with the Forces I have mention'd march'd from *Sardes*; and advancing through *Lydia*, in <sup>20</sup> three Days march made twenty-

two

the Seat of its Kings: The first *Cyrus* took it after a Siege of fourteen Days, and in it *Cræsus*, after he had reign'd as many Years. It was afterwards set on fire by the *Ionians*, and with it the Temple of the Goddess *Cybele*; which was the pretence afterwards made use of by *Xerxes* for burning the Temples of the *Greeks*. Herodotus in Clio.  
Herodotus in Terpsichore.

<sup>18</sup> Ὡς βασιλεία. ὥς is frequently us'd by the *Attick* Writers for *πρός*, which possibly may be understood. In this Sense it is employed in the first of those two Verses which *Pompey* repeated, when he put himself in the hands of *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*.

Ὅστις γὰρ ὡς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται  
Κείνῃς ἑὶ δ' ἄλλῃ κ' ἂν ἐλεύθερ' ὀμόλῃ.

Dion. Cassius, 42 B.

<sup>19</sup> Τὸν Κύρου στόλον. Στόλῳ καὶ τὸ πεζικὸν στρατεύμα. *Suidas*. καὶ ἡ διὰ γῆς πορεία. *Phavorinus*. The Author first mention'd quotes a Passage out of *Arrian*, in which στόλῳ is taken in the same Sense our Author uses it in this place. Σποράκις μαθὼν τὸν στόλον βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴ ἐπικράτειαν γινόμενον, ἔφυγε.

<sup>20</sup> Σταθμὰς τρεῖς. I have said three Days march, in the same manner as the *Roman* Authors say, *tertiis Castris*, without any regard to the particular Distance from

two <sup>21</sup> Parafangas, as far as the River *Meander* : this River is two Plethra in breadth ;  
there

from one place to another, but only to the Motion of the Army. In this I am confirm'd by *Diodorus Siculus*, who, speaking of the March of the *Greek Army* in their Retreat through the Country of the *Mosynæcians*, explains *ὁκτώ σταθμῶς* mention'd by our Author upon that occasion, by *ἐν ἡμέραις ὁκτώ*.

<sup>21</sup> Παρασάγγας. Παρασάγγελος, μέτρον ὅδ' τριάκοντα σταδίων ἔχον. *Hesychius*. *Herodotus* says the same thing. On the other hand, *Strabo* says, some make it sixty, others thirty, or forty Stadia. But this may in some degree be reconcil'd by the Etymological Lexicon, which explains it thus, παρασάγγαι, τριάκοντα στάδια παρὰ Πέρσαις, παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις δ' ἑξήκοντα : so that the Parafanga was thirty Stadia among the *Persians*, and sixty among the *Egyptians* ; but as the March of the *Greek Army*, describ'd by our Author, lay through *Persia*, there can be no doubt but he followed their Account. It may not be improper to observe, that a Stadium contains one hundred ὀργμαὶ or Fathoms, στάδιον ὀργμῶν ἑκατὸν, *Phavorinus*, that is, 600 Feet, ὀργμὰ being, according to the same Author, ἡ ἑκτασις τῶν χειρῶν σὺν τῷ πλάτει σήθους, that is, a Fathom. I know very well that the *Greek Foot* contain'd 875 Decimals more than an *English Foot*, so that whoever has a mind to be exact, must compute according to that Fraction. As the Parafanga, Stadium, and Plethrum are frequently mention'd in the Course of this History, I thought it proper to explain them at first, that we may have done with them : The Plethrum has not yet been taken notice of ; *Suidas* says, it contains one hundred Feet, ἔχει δὲ τὸ πλῆθρον πόδας ρ' : or, as both he, and *Phavorinus*, affirm, together with the *Greek Scholiast* upon this Passage of *Homer*, where he speaks of *Tityus*

——— Ὅ δ' ἐπ' ἐνεία κεῖτο πέλεθρα,

Τὸ

there was a Bridge over it supported by seven Boats: Having passed this, he advanc'd through *Phrygia*, making in one day's March eight Parasangas, to *Colosea*, a large City, rich and well inhabited: there he staid seven Days: Hither *Menon* the *Thes-salian* came to him with a thousand heavy-armed Men, and five hundred Targeteers, consisting of *Dolopians*, *Ænians*, and *Olynthians*. From thence he made, in three Days march, twenty Parasangas to *Celene*, a City of *Phrygia*, large, rich, and well inhabited: Here the Palace of *Cyrus* stood, with a large <sup>22</sup> Park full of wild

Beasts,

Τὸ τῷ ἑαδὺς ἔκτον μέρος: The sixth part of a Stadium, that is, one hundred Feet. As the *Latin* Tongue has no Word to express πλῆθρον in this Sense, with Accuracy, *jugerum* signifying a square Measure (tho' I am sensible the Poets use it also for πλῆθρον) the *Latin* Translators have thought themselves under a necessity of using the word *Plethrum*: I hope I shall also be allowed to use the words *Parasanga*, *Stadium*, and *Plethrum*, after having explain'd them.

<sup>22</sup> Παράδεισος. This Word is, no doubt, of *Per-* Jul. Pollux  
sian Original, and like many other *Persian* Words, as *B. 9. c. 3.*  
*Julius Pollux* says, commonly used by the *Greeks*. These *Segm. 13.*  
Parks planted with stately Forest and Fruit-Trees of every kind, well water'd, and stock'd with plenty of wild Beasts, were very deservedly in great request among the *Persians*. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Tissapher-* Plutarch  
*nes*, to shew his Opinion of the Elegance of *Alcibiades's* in *Alci-*  
*Taste*, gave his Name to that which belong'd to *biades*.  
him. The Ecclesiastical Writers after *St. Jerome*,  
have thought fit to translate the Garden of *Eden* in  
Moses,



Beasts, which *Cyrus* hunted on Horse-back, when he had a mind to exercise himself and his Horses: Through the middle of this Park runs the River *Mæander*, but the Head of it rises in the Palace; it runs also through the City of *Celæne*. There is besides a fortify'd Palace belonging to the <sup>23</sup> great King in *Celæne*, at the head of the River *Marfyas*, under the Citadel. This River likewise runs through the City, and falls into the *Mæander*; the *Marfyas* is twenty-five Feet broad: Here *Apollo* is said to have flea'd *Marfyas*, whom contending with him <sup>24</sup> in Musick, he had overcome, and to have hung up his Skin in the Cave, from whence the Springs flow: For this reason the River is called *Marfyas*. Here *Xerxes*, when he fled from *Greece* after his Defeat, is said to have built both this Palace, and the Citadel

of

Gen. ii. 15. *Moses*, *Paradisus voluptatis*; and the Septuagint ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τρυφῆς, making *Eden* an appellative, tho' they oftner make it a proper Name. The *English* Translation says, *the Garden of Eden*, which agrees with the *Hebrew*.

<sup>23</sup> Μεγάλῃ βασιλείῃς. This is the Title given by all the *Greek* Authors to the King of *Persia*, which is preserv'd to the Successors of *Mahomet* in that of the Grand Seignior.

<sup>24</sup> Περὶ σοφίας. *Hutchinson* has prov'd from several Authorities, that σοφία in this place signifies Skill in Musick, rather than Wisdom.

of *Celæna*. Here *Cyrus* staid thirty Days, and hither *Clearchus* the banish'd *Lacedæmonian* came with a thousand heavy-arm'd Men, five hundred *Thracian* <sup>25</sup> Targeteers, and two hundred *Cretan* Archers. At the same time *Sofias* the *Syracusan* came with a thousand heavy-arm'd Men, and *Saphænetus* the *Arcadian* with a thousand more. Here *Cyrus* reviewed the *Greeks* in the Park, and took an account of their Numbers; they amounted in the whole to eleven thousand heavy-arm'd Men, and about two thousand Targeteers.

FROM hence *Cyrus* made in two days march ten Parasangas, and arrived at *Pelteæ*, a City well inhabited: there he staid three Days, during which *Xenias* the *Arcadian* solemniz'd the <sup>26</sup> *Lupercalian* Sacrifice, and celebrated

<sup>25</sup> Πελτασταί. Here πελτασταί seems to be taken in a comprehensive Sense, and to include all those who were not heavy-arm'd Men.

<sup>26</sup> Τὰ Λύκαια. This was an *Arcadian* Sacrifice, instituted in honour of *Pan*, and brought by *Evander* into *Italy*, when he, with his Followers, settled upon the *Palatine Hill*. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, from whom *Dionysius* I have this, adds, that after the Sacrifice was over, the Hal. 1 B. Priests ran through the Streets naked all but their Middle, which was covered with the Skins of the Victims newly sacrificed & this Sacrifice, he says, continued to his

celebrated a Game, the Prizes were golden  
<sup>27</sup> Scrapers; at this Game *Cyrus* was present.  
 From thence he made in two marches twelve  
 Parasangs, and came to the Market of the  
*Cramians*, a City well inhabited, the last  
 of the Country of *Mysia*. From thence he  
 made in three days march thirty Parasang-  
 gas, and arrived at a well peopled City cal-  
 led <sup>28</sup> the *Plain of Caystrus*, where he staid  
 five Days. There was now due to the Sol-  
 diers above three Months Pay, which they,  
 coming often to <sup>29</sup> his Door, demanded:  
 He

DionCaf- his time, which is confirm'd by *Dion Cassius* and *Plu-*  
 sius 45 B. *tarch*. *Virgil*, has taken notice of this Circumstance  
 Plutarch of the *Lupercalian* Priests running naked, among the  
 inAntony other Points of History, with which the Shield of  
 Virgil 8B. *Aeneas* is embellished,

*Hic exultantes Salios, nudosque Lupercos,  
 Lanigerosque apices, & lapsa ancilia cælo  
 Extuderat.*

Phavori- <sup>27</sup> Στλεσιγίδες. In *Latin* *Brigiles*. They were In-  
 nus. struments used in Bathing both by the *Greeks* and *Ro-*  
 Persius. *mans*; with these they scrap'd their Bodies. *D'Ab-*  
 5 Sat. *lancourt* has render'd it *des etrilles d'Or*: for which he  
 makes an excuse: The best I can make for the Word  
 I have made use of is, that I know no other.

<sup>28</sup> Καῦσρου πεδίον. *D'Abancourt* suspects this Pas-  
 sage to be corrupted: But *Hutchinson* says, this Plain  
 may very probably have given name to the City.

<sup>29</sup> ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας. The Custom of attending  
 at the Door of the Kings of *Persia* was introduc'd by  
 8 B. the first *Cyrus*, as we find in the *Cyropædia*, ἔτω ἡ  
 νῦν ἔτι ποιῶσιν οἱ πατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ ὄντες.  
 θεραπεύουσι

He continued to give them Hopes, and was visibly concern'd; for he was not of a Temper to deny Money, when he had it. Hither *Epyaxa*, the Wife of *Syenneſus* King of the *Cilicians*, came to *Cyrus*; it was ſaid ſhe made him a Preſent of great Sums of Money. *Cyrus* therefore gave the Army four Months Pay at that time. The *Cilician* Queen had a Guard of *Cilicians* and *Aſpendians*; and *Cyrus* was reported to have an Amour with her.

FROM thence he made in two days march ten Paraſangas, and came to the City of <sup>30</sup> *Thymbrium*, a Town well inhabited. Here was a Fountain near the Road, called the Fountain of *Midas*, King of *Phrygia*, where *Midas* is ſaid to have <sup>31</sup> caught the

θεραπεύσει τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων θύρας. It was in uſe in the time of *Herodotus*, and *Xenophon*, and continued as long as the *Persian* Empire. This Compliment was paid to the Satrapes as well as to the Kings. It is poſſible the Name of the Port given to the Court of the Grand Seignior was deriv'd from hence, rather than from the great Gate leading to the Seraglio, as is generally thought.

<sup>30</sup> Θύμβριον. A Town of *Phrygia*.

<sup>31</sup> Θηρεύσαι. I have tranſlated this in the ſame manner as if our Author had ſaid λαβεῖν, which is the Word made uſe of by *Maximus Tyrius* ſpeaking of this Adventure; λαμβάνει τὸν Σάτυρον κεράſας ὄνῳ κερήνῃ.

the Satyre, by mixing the Fountain with Wine. From thence he made in two days march ten Parasangas, and arriv'd at *Tyrium*, a populous Town. In this place he staid three Days. And here, it is said, the *Cilician* Queen desir'd *Cyrus* to shew her his Army; in compliāce therefore with her Request, *Cyrus* review'd in the Plain both his *Greek* and *Barbarian* Forces; he order'd the *Greeks* to dispose themselves, according to their Custom, and stand in Order of Battle, and that each of the Commanders should draw up his own Men; so they were drawn up<sup>32</sup> four deep. *Menon* had the right with his People, and *Clearchus* the left with his Men; the rest of the Generals were in the Center. First therefore *Cyrus* viewed the *Barbarians*, (they march'd by him drawn up in Troops<sup>33</sup>, and Companies)

For this reason I am of opinion, that *Satyrum venatus* is not so proper in *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson*.

<sup>32</sup> Ἐπὶ τετλίῳρων. This is what *Arrian* in his *Tactics* calls τὴν τάξιν ἐκτεῖναι ἐπὶ τέσσαρας. *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson* have said in *quaternis dispositi*, which I think signifies rather that they were drawn up in Platoons of four Men each. *D'Ablancourt* is much clearer, à quatre de hauteur.

<sup>33</sup> Κατ' ἵλας, καὶ κατὰ τάξεις. Ἴλη in *Greek*, and *turma* in *Latin*, are proper to the Horse, as τάξεις and *cohors* are to the Foot; tho' I know there are some Examples where the two last are applied to the Horse also; however in this place there can be no doubt but τάξεις signifies Companies of Foot.

Companies) then the *Greeks*, *Cyrus* driving by them on a Car, and the *Cilician Queen* in a Chariot <sup>34</sup>. They had all brazen Helmets, scarlet Vests, Greaves, and burnish'd Shields. After he had <sup>35</sup> pass'd by them all, he stopp'd his Car in the Center of the Front, and sending *Pigres* his Interpreter to the *Greek* Generals, he order'd the whole Line <sup>36</sup> to present their Pikes, and advance in Order of Battle: These convey'd his Orders to the Soldiers; who, when the Trumpets sounded, presented their Pikes and advanc'd, then marching <sup>37</sup> faster than ordinary

<sup>34</sup> Ἀρμαμάξης. *Plutarch* employs this Word for a Plutarch close Carriage used by Women. *D'Ablandcourt* has not in *Themistocles* distinguish'd it in his Translation from ἄμαξα.

<sup>35</sup> Ἐπεὶ πάντας παρήλασε. This is render'd by *D'Ablandcourt* après les avoir contempez.

<sup>36</sup> Προβάλλεσθαι τὰ ὄπλα. There is a Passage quoted by *Suidas* out of *Demosthenes* in his first *Philippick*, in which προβάλλεσθαι is used in the same Sense our Author uses it here, προβάλλεσθαι δὲ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ βλέπειν ἐναντίον ὅτε ὀιδεν, ὅτε ἐθέλει, where *Suidas* explains προβάλλεσθαι τὰς χεῖρας by προτεῖναι τὰς χεῖρας ὡς εἰς μάχην: So that προβάλλεσθαι τὰ ὄπλα will be the same with κάθες τὰ ὄρατα, a Word of Command mentioned by *Arrian* in his *Tactics*. *D'Ablandcourt* has, *Arrian* in I think, said very properly qu'ils firent baisser les bisTactics. *Piques*.

<sup>37</sup> Θᾶττον. I am sensible that θᾶττον is not always used in a comparative Sense, it sometimes, though more rarely, signifies no more than ἐνθῶς, ταχέως, as *Hesychius* explains it; however it is generally used in the

nary with Shouts, ran of their own accord to the Tents; upon this many of the *Barbarians* were seiz'd with Fear, the *Cilician* Queen quitted her Chariot, and fled, and the Sutlers, leaving their Commodities, ran away: The *Greeks*, not without laughter, repair'd to their Tents. The *Cilician* Queen, seeing the Lustre and Order of their Army, was in admiration, and *Cyrus* was pleas'd to see the Terror with which the *Greeks* had struck the *Barbarians*.

FROM thence he made in three days march twenty Parasangas, and came to *Iconium*, the last City of *Phrygia*. There he staid three Days. From thence he made in five days march thirty Parasangas through *Lycaonia*; this being an Enemy's Country, he gave the *Greeks* leave to plunder it. From hence he sent the *Cilician* Queen into *Cilicia* the shortest way, and appointed *Menon* the *Thessalian* himself, with his Soldiers, to escort her. *Cyrus*, with the rest of the Army, mov'd on through *Cappadocia*; and, in four days march, made five and twenty Parasangas to *Dana*, a large and rich City well

Sense I have given it by the *Attick* Writers. Θάρσος Ἀττικῶν, τάρχιον Ἑλλήνες. *Phavorinus*.

well inhabited : Here he staid three Days, during which he put to death *Megaphernes*, a *Persian*, one of his Courtiers <sup>38</sup>, with another Person who had a principal Command, accusing them of Treachery. From thence they prepar'd to penetrate into *Cilicia*; the Entrance <sup>39</sup> was just broad enough for a Chariot to pass, very steep, and in-

C 4                      accessible

<sup>38</sup> Φοινικιστὴν βασιλείου. I have never met with the word Φοινικιστὴς in any Author but *Xenophon*, or in any Lexicon ancient or modern, but *Hesychius*, who quotes this Passage without explaining it ; so that the Readers and Translators are left to shift for themselves as well as they can. *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson* have said *Regium purpuræ Tinctorem*, which I can by no means approve of, since the King's Purple Dyer does neither seem to be a proper Person to attend *Cyrus* in a military Expedition, neither does he appear a proper Accomplice in a Design of this nature, with so considerable a Person as the other is represented. *D'Ablandcourt* has said *Maître de sa garde-robe* ; this indeed answers the two Objections I made to the other Interpretation, but I am apt to believe, if *Xenophon* had design'd to denote any particular Office, he would have made use of the Article, and have said τὸν Φοινικιστὴν βασιλείου. *H. Stephens* has employed a very classical Word *purpuratus*, which answers properly to Φοῖνοιξ, from whence Φοινικιστὴς is deriv'd ; this is the Sense I have given to the Word, though I am very far from being fond of it.

<sup>39</sup> Ἡ δὲ ἰσθμὸς. This is the Pass which *Arrian* <sup>Arrian</sup> calls τὰς πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας, which *Alexander* pos- <sup>pos-</sup> *Alex. Exp.* sels'd himself of, as he march'd into *Cilicia* to engage <sup>2 Book</sup> *Darius* : The Day before, he encamp'd in the place, where we now find *Cyrus*, ἀφικόμενος, says *Arrian*, ἐπὶ τὸ Κόρυ τῷ ξυνοφῶντι στρατόπεδον, where he left *Parmenion*, when he went himself to attack the Pass.



accessible to an Army, if there had been any opposition; and *Syenneſis* was ſaid to have poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Eminences, in order to guard the Paſs; for which reaſon *Cyrus* ſtaid one Day in the Plain.<sup>40</sup> The day after, News was brought by a Meſſenger, that *Syenneſis* had quitted the Eminences upon Information that both *Menon's* Army was in *Cilicia* within the Mountains, and alſo that *Tamon* was <sup>40</sup> ſailing round from *Ionia* to *Cilicia* with the Galleys, that belong'd to the *Lacedæmonians*, and to *Cyrus*. *Cyrus* therefore march'd up the Mountains without oppoſition, and <sup>41</sup> made himſelf maſter of the Tents, in which the *Cilicians* lay to oppoſe his Paſſage. From thence he deſcended into a large and beautiful Plain, well water'd, and full of all ſorts of Trees and Vines; it abounds in <sup>42</sup> Sefame, Panick,

Miller,

<sup>40</sup> Περιπλεῦσας. *Hutchinſon* very juſtly obſerves, that περιπλεῖν is properly uſed by *Xenophon* to deſcribe the Courſe a Ship muſt take from the Coaſt of *Ionia* to that of *Cilicia*: But this has not been preſerv'd either in his or *Leunclavius* Translation, any more than in that of *d'Ablandcourt*.

<sup>41</sup> Ἐλκε. I have followed the Conjecture of *Murtus*, who reads ἐλκε inſtead of εἶδε, in which I am ſupported by *Hutchinſon*.

<sup>42</sup> Σήταμον. This Plant is common in the *Levant*, and is called by *Tournefort*, *Digitalis Orientalis*; of the Seed of this Plant they make an Oil, that is good to eat,

Millet, Wheat and Barley; and is surrounded with a strong and high Ridge of Hills from Sea to Sea.

AFTER he had left the Mountains, he advanced thro' the Plain, and having made five and twenty Parasangas in four days march, arrived at <sup>43</sup> *Tarsus*, a great and rich City

of eat, and for several other uses. Panick and Millet are so like to one another, that they are scarce to be distinguish'd but by the manner in which they bring forth their Grain, the former bearing it in Ears, and the latter in Bunches; they both make very bad Bread, and are chiefly used to fat Fowls. *D'Ablancourt* has thought fit to render this Period by *remplie de toutes fortes de fruits & de grains*; but his reason for it is still more curious than his Translation, I was so much entertained with the Vivacity of it, that I cannot help transcribing his Words; *Je l'ay tranché, says he, en deux mots, pour ne pas venir à un detail ennuyeux.*

<sup>43</sup> *Ταρσός*. *Tarsus*, a considerable City of *Cilicia*, was built by *Sardanapalus*, who built both that and *Anchialus*, another City not far from it, in one day; which, though incredible to those who do not consider how many Millions of Men the *Assyrian* Kings had at their Command, is however attested by an *Assyrian* Inscription, which *Arrian* has translated: This Inscription *Book, Exp.* was, it seems, engrav'd on the Monument of this *Alex.* Prince, upon which stood his Statue in the Attitude of a Person who expresses a Contempt, with his Hands clapp'd together, or, as *Strabo* says, I think, more *Strabo, 14* probably, by seeming to snap his Fingers. The Sense *B.* of this Inscription is so very philosophical, that I cannot omit it, tho' at the same time the Phrase is so very libertine, that I shall not translate it. *Σαρδανάπαλος ὁ Ανγκυνδαράξυ παῖς, Αγκιάλου καὶ Ταρσόν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ ἐδείματο. σὺ δὲ, ὦ ξένε, ἔσθιε, καὶ πινε, καὶ παῖζε, ὡς*

of *Cilicia*. Here stood the Palace of *Syennefis* King of *Cilicia*; the River <sup>44</sup> *Cydnus* runs through the middle of the City, and is two hundred Feet in breadth. This City was <sup>45</sup> abandon'd by the Inhabitants, who with *Syennefis* fled to a Fastness upon the Mountains, those only excepted who kept the publick Houses: But the Inhabitants of <sup>46</sup> *Soli* and *Issi*, who liv'd near the Sea, did not quit their Habitations. *Epyaxa*, the Wife of *Syennefis*, came to *Tarsus* five Days

before

ὡς τ' ἄλλα τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐκ ὄντα τέτυκται ἄξια: instead of παιζει, others read ὅχυνε, which *Arrian* says is the

*Plutarch* Sense of the *Affyrian* Word: and which *Plutarch*,  
 περὶ τῆς speaking of this Inscription, has render'd by ἀφροδι-  
 χης Ἀλε-σίαζε.

ξάνδρου.

<sup>44</sup> Κυδνος. This River rises out of Mount *Taurus*, and running through a clean Country, is remarkable for the Coldness and Clearness of its Stream; this tempted *Alexander* after a long and sultry March to bathe in it, which had like to have put an end both to his Life and his Victories; but the Care of his Physician, or the Strength of his Constitution, soon recover'd him, and once more let him loose upon Mankind.

<sup>45</sup> Εξέλιπον, &c. I agree entirely with *Hutchinson* against *Leunclavius* and *Stephens*, that there is no necessity of having recourse to φυγόντες, or of any thing of that kind to perfect this Sentence. These Apoposieses are frequent in the *Attick* Writers.

*Strabo*,  
 4 Book. <sup>46</sup> Σόλοις. This City was afterwards called *Pompeipolis*. It was formerly a Colony of the *Athenians*, *Eustathius* who forgetting, by length of time, their Mother-upon *Dion. Tongue*, or at least the Grammar of it, spoke a barbarous Language, from whom the word *Solæcism*, so dreadful in the Ears of School-Boys, took its Name.

before *Cyrus*. In the Passage over the Mountains into the Plain, two Companies of *Menon's* Army were missing. It was said by some, that, while they were intent on plunder, they were cut off by the *Cilicians*, and by others, that, being left behind, and unable to find the rest of the Army, or gain the Road, they wander'd about the Country and were destroy'd : <sup>47</sup> The number of these amounted to one hundred heavy-arm'd Men. The rest, as soon as they arriv'd, resenting the loss of their Companions, plunder'd both the City of *Tarsus*, and the Palace that stood there. *Cyrus*, as soon as he enter'd the City, sent for *Syennesis* : but he, alledging that he had never yet put himself in the hands of any Person of superior Power, declin'd coming, 'till his Wife prevail'd upon him, and receiv'd assurance from *Cyrus* : After that, when they met, *Syennesis* gave *Cyrus* great Sums of Money to pay his Army, and *Cyrus* made him such Presents, as are of great value among Kings ; these were a Horse with a golden Bit, a Chain, Bracelets, and a Scimitar

<sup>47</sup> Ἦσαν δὲ ἑκατὸν ὀπαῖται. By this Passage it seems that their Companies consisted of fifty Men each.

mitar of Gold, with a *Persian* Robe, besides  
 48 the Exemption of his Country from  
 further plunder ; to this he added the Resti-  
 tution of the Prisoners they had taken,  
 wherever they were found.

HERE *Cyrus* and the Army staid twenty  
 Days, the Soldiers declaring they would go  
 no further ; for they suspected he was lead-  
 ing them against the King, and said they  
 were not rais'd for that Service. *Clearchus*  
 was the first, who endeavour'd to force his  
 Men to go on ; but as soon as he began to  
 march, they threw Stones at him, and at  
 his sumpter Horses, so that he narrowly  
 escap'd being then ston'd to death. After-  
 wards, when he saw it was not in his power  
 to prevail by force, he called his Men to-  
 gether, and first he stood still a considerable  
 time, shedding many Tears, while the Sol-  
 diers beheld him in amaze and silence ; then  
 spoke to them in the following manner :

“FELLOW-

48 *Καὶ τὴν χάσαν μνηεῖν, &c.* This Period is ce-  
 lebrated by *Demetrius Phalareus* for the proper placing  
 of this uncommon Gift, which, he says, if it had been  
 plac'd either in the Beginning, or in the Middle, would  
 have been disagreeable, but is graceful at the Close  
 of it.

Demetrius  
 Phalareus  
 of Eri-  
 quence.

“ FELLOW-Soldiers! wonder not that  
 “ I am concern’d at the present Posture of  
 “ Affairs; for I am engag’d to *Cyrus* by  
 “ the Rights of Hospitality, and when I was  
 “ banish’d, among other Marks of Distinc-  
 “ tion with which he honour’d me, he gave  
 “ me ten thousand Daricks: After I had  
 “ receiv’d this Money, I did not treasure  
 “ it up for my own use, or <sup>49</sup> lavish it  
 “ in Pleasures, but laid it out upon you:  
 “ And first I made war upon the *Thra-*  
 “ *cians*, and, with your Assistance, reveng’d  
 “ the Injuries they had done to *Greece*,  
 “ by driving them out of the *Chersonesus*,  
 “ where they were endeavouring to dis-  
 “ possess the *Greek* Inhabitants of their  
 “ Lands. After that, when I was summon’d  
 “ by *Cyrus*, I carried you to him with this  
 “ view, that, if there were occasion, I might in  
 “ return

<sup>49</sup> Οὐδὲ καθηδοπάθησα. *Que je n’ay pas employez*  
*à mes plaisirs*, in *d’Abblancourt*, does not, I think, come  
 up to the Strength of the *Greek* Word; *nec per volupta-*  
*tem & luxum absumpsi* in *Hutchinson* is far better. Sure  
 this Word, which has great Energy, was never more  
 properly employed than by *Plutarch* to *Mark Antony’s* Plutarchi  
 lavishing the most precious thing he could throw away, in Antony.  
 his Time, in the Arms of *Cleopatra*, καθηδυναθεῖν τὸ Diogenes  
 πολυτελέστατον ἀνάλωμα, τὸν χρόνον, where, by the Laërtius.  
 way, *Plutarch* has taken that fine Application of πο- Life of  
 λυτελὲς ἀνάλωμα to Time, from *Theophrastus*, Theo-  
phrastus.

“ return for his <sup>10</sup> Favours be of Service to  
 “ him : but, since you refuse to go on with  
 “ me, and I am under a necessity either, by  
 “ betraying you, to rely on the Friendship  
 “ of *Cyrus*, or, by being false to him, to  
 “ adhere to you; though I am in doubt whe-  
 “ ther I shall do right or not, however, I  
 “ have determin’d to give you the <sup>11</sup> prefe-  
 “ rence, and with you to suffer every thing  
 “ that may happen : Neither shall any one  
 “ say, that, having led *Greeks* among *Bar-*  
 “ *barians*, I betrayed the *Greeks*, and pre-  
 “ ferred the Friendship of the *Barbarians*;  
 “ but, since you refuse to obey me, and to  
 “ follow me, I will follow you, and share  
 “ in all your Sufferings ; for I look upon  
 “ you as my Country, my Friends, and  
 “ Fellow-Soldiers, and that with you I shall  
 “ live in honour wherever I am, but with-  
 “ out you, that I shall neither be useful to my  
 “ Friends, or formidable to my Enemies :  
 “ Be

<sup>10</sup> Ὀφελοῖν αὐτόν. *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson*  
 Cic. Epif. have said *ut ei commodare*, which is not only the Sense,  
 13. 35. but elegantly expresses *ut ei commodo esset* ; *Tully* uses  
 the Word in the same Sense in his Epistles. *D'Abland-*  
*court* has said, *pour payer ses faveurs de quelque service*,  
 which I think, at least, equal to the other.

<sup>11</sup> Αἰρήσομαι ὃ ἐν ὑμῶς. αἰρῶμαι, προκρίνω. *Pha-*  
*vorinus*.

“ Be assur’d therefore that whither soever  
 “ you go, I resolve to go with you.” Thus  
 spoke *Clearchus* : The Soldiers, both those  
 who belong’d to him, and the rest of the  
 Army, hearing this, commended him for de-  
 claring he would not march against the  
 King ; and above two thousand left *Xenias*  
 and *Pasion*, and taking their Arms and  
 “ Baggage with them, came and encamp’d  
 with *Clearchus*.

THESE things gave *Cyrus* great Perplex-  
 ity and Uneasiness : so he sent for *Clear-*  
*chus*, who refus’d to go, but dispatch’d a Mes-  
 senger to him, unknown to the Soldiers,  
 with Encouragement, that this Affair would  
 take a favourable Turn : he advis’d *Cyrus* to  
 send for him, but at the same time let him  
 know that he did not design to go to him.  
 After this assembling his own Soldiers, with  
 those who were lately come to him, and  
 as many of the rest as desired to be pre-  
 sent, he spoke to them as follows :

“ FELLOW-

“ Στενοφόρα. The Passage quoted by *Hutchinson*  
 out of *Herodian*, which is also quoted by *Constantin* in  
 his Lexicon, plainly shews that στενοφόρα signifies both  
 the Carriages and the Beasts of Burden.



“ FELLOW-Soldiers! it is certain the Affairs of *Cyrus* are in the same Situation in respect to us, with ours in regard to him ; for neither are we any longer his Soldiers, since we refuse to follow him, neither does he any longer give us Pay. I know, he thinks himself unjustly treated by us ; so that, when he sends for me, I refuse to go to him, chiefly through Shame, because I am conscious to myself of having deceiv'd him in every thing ; in the next place, through Fear, lest he should cause me to be apprehended and punished for the Wrongs he thinks I have done him. I am therefore of opinion, that this is no time for us to sleep, or to neglect the Care of our selves, but to consult what is next to be done. If we stay, we are to consider by what means we may stay with the greatest Security ; and if we resolve to go away, how we may go with the greatest Safety, and supply ourselves with Provisions ; for without these neither a Commander, or a private Man, can be of any use. *Cyrus* is a very valuable Friend, where he is a Friend, but the severest Enemy, where he is an Enemy :  
 “ He

“ He is also Master of that Strength in Foot,  
 “ Horse, and at Sea, which we all both see  
 “ and are acquainted with, for truly we do  
 “ not seem to be encamp’d at a great distance  
 “ from him ; so that this is the time for  
 “ every one to advise what he judges best :”  
 Here he stopp’d:

UPON this some rose up of their own  
 accord to give their Opinions, others, by  
 his Direction, to shew the Difficulties either  
 of staying or going without the Approba-  
 tion of *Cyrus* : One, pretending to be in  
 haste to return to *Greece*, said, that, if  
*Clearchus* refus’d to conduct them thither,  
 they ought immediately to chuse other Ge-  
 nerals, to buy Provisions (there being a Mar-  
 ket in the *Barbarians* Camp) and pack up  
 their Baggage : then go to *Cyrus*, and de-  
 mand Ships of him to transport them ;  
 which if he refus’d, to desire a Commander  
 to conduct them, as thro’ a Friend’s Country ;  
 and, if this also be refused, continued he,  
 we ought forthwith to draw up in Order of  
 Battle, and send a Detachment to secure  
 the Eminences, that neither *Cyrus*, nor the  
*Cilicians*, (many of whom we have taken  
 VOL. I. D Prisoners,

Prisoners; and whose " Effects we have plunder'd and still possess,) may prevent us : Thus he spoke ; and after him *Clearchus* said to this effect :

" LET none of you propose me to be General in this Expedition, (for I see many things that forbid it) but consider me as one resolv'd to obey, as far as possible, the Person you shall chuse, that you may be convinc'd I also know as well as any other, how to submit to Command." After him another got up, shewing the Folly of the Man who advis'd to demand the Ships, as if *Cyrus* would not resume his Expedition; he shewed  
also

" *Χρήματα*. This Word in this and in many other places in *Xenophon*, as well as in other good Authors, signifies Effects rather than Money : In this Sense it is explain'd by *Hesychius*, *χρήματα*, οἷς τις δύναται χρῆσθαι : κτήματα, βοσκήματα : This explains a Passage in *Homer*, where *Eurymachus*, one of the Suitors tells *Halitherses*, that, if *Penelope* continues to amuse them,

*Χρήματα δ' αὐτῇ κακῶς βεβήκασιν* *αὐτῇ*

*Hutchinson* has render'd *χρήματα* here *bona*, and *Leuclavius* *opes*, the latter not so properly, *D'Ablancourt* has said *ceux du país qu'on doit piller*; which, in my opinion, is too general, because it is applicable both to their Money and Effects; on the other side it is not applicable to the seizing their Persons; for I dare say those who are Critics in the French Language will own, that *piller quelq. u'un* does not signify to seize a Man's Person.

also how weak a thing it was to apply for a Guide to that Person whose Undertaking we had defeated. "If, says he, we can place any Confidence in a Guide appointed by him, what hinders us from desiring *Cyrus* himself to secure those Eminences for us? I own I should be unwilling to go on board the Transports he may give us, lest he should sink both us and the <sup>54</sup> Ships; I should also be afraid to follow the Guide he may appoint, lest he should lead us into some place, out of which we could not disengage ourselves; and since it is proposed we should go away without the Consent of *Cyrus*, I wish we could also go without his Knowledge, which is impossible. These then are vain Thoughts; I am therefore of opinion that proper Persons, together with *Clearchus*, should go to *Cyrus*, and ask him in what Service he proposes to employ us; and to acquaint him, that, if the present Undertaking be of the same nature with that in which he before made use of foreign Troops,

D 2

we

<sup>54</sup> Αὐταῖς ταῖς πρὶν ἑσὶ καταδόσῃ. This Ellipsis is very frequent in *Thucydides* and *Homer*; the latter speaking of the Waste made by the wild Boar on the Lands of *Oënius*, says, in the same Figure,

Πολλὰ δ' ὄγε προθέλυμα χαμαὶ βάλε δένδρεα μακρὰ Π. 1.  
 Αὐτῶν ρίζῃσι, ἃς αὐτοῖς ἀνθέσι μήλων.

we will follow him, and behave ourselves no worse than those who <sup>55</sup> attended him upon that occasion; but if this Enterprize appears to be of greater Moment than the former, and to be attended with greater Labour <sup>56</sup> and Danger, that we desire he will either prevail on us by Persuasion to follow him, or suffer himself to be prevail'd upon to allow us to return home. By this means, if we follow him, we shall follow him, as Friends, with Chearfulness, and if we return, we shall return with Safety: And let them report to us what he says, which we may then consider of." This was resolv'd.

HAVING chosen the Persons therefore, they sent them with *Clearchus*. These ask'd *Cyrus* the Questions appointed by the Army; to which he made answer, that he was inform'd *Abrocomas*, his Enemy, lay near the *Euphrates*, at the distance of twelve days march; against him therefore, he said, he design'd to lead them; and, if he found him there,

<sup>55</sup> Συναναβάντων. This relates to the three hundred Greeks, who, as our Author tells us, attended *Cyrus* to Court under the Command of *Ξένος* of *Parrhasia*.

<sup>56</sup> Επιπαιωτέρα καὶ ἐπικίνδυνωτέρα. These are the proper Characters that distinguish this Expedition from the former; of which however *d'Ablancourt* has not taken the least notice in his Translation,

there, his Intention was to punish him; but, if he flies from me, says he, we will there consider what we are to do. Those who were appointed to attend *Cyrus*, hearing this, made their Report to the Soldiers: These suspected his Design was to lead them against the King; however they resolv'd to follow him: And, when they demanded an Encrease of Pay, he promis'd to give them half as much more as they had already; that is, instead of one Darick, a Darick and a half every Month to each Man. But it was not even then known that he intended to lead them against the King, at least, it was not publick.

FROM thence he made in two days march ten Parasangas, to the River *Pharus*, which was three hundred Feet broad. From thence to the River *Pyramus*, which is one Stadium in breadth, making in one march five Parasangas. From thence he made in two days march fifteen Parasangas, and arriv'd at *Issus* <sup>57</sup>, the last Town of *Cilicia*, situated near

<sup>57</sup> *Issus*. Hard by stands a Town now called *Scanderoon*, a Place very well known to our *Turkey* Merchants, built by *Alexander* in memory of the great Victory he obtain'd there over *Darius*, whose Mother, Wife

near the Sea ; it is a large City, rich, and well inhabited : here he staid three days, and hither five and thirty Ships came to *Cyrus* from *Peloponnesus*, and with them *Pythagoras*, a *Lacedæmonian*, the Admiral : But *Tamos*, an *Egyptian*, conducted them from *Ephesus*, bringing with him five and twenty other Ships belonging to *Cyrus*, with which he had besieg'd *Miletus*, because that City was in friendship with *Tissaphernes*, against whom *Tamos* made war in conjunction with *Cyrus*. With these Ships also came *Cheirisophus*, the *Lacedæmonian*, whom *Cyrus* had sent for, with seven hundred heavy-arm'd Men, which he commanded under *Cyrus*. The Ships <sup>s<sup>b</sup></sup> lay at Anchor before *Cyrus* Tent.

Strabo,  
14 B.

Wife and Children were taken Prisoners in the Action. The Bay called by *Strabo* κόλπος Ἰσσιῶς, took its Name from this Town, and is now called the Bay of Scanderoon.

<sup>s<sup>b</sup></sup> Αἱ δὲ νῆες ὥρμαιον, &c. I will not say that ὥρμαι is never used to signify a Ship that comes to Land, but I am sure it is generally applied to a Ship that lies at Anchor, and that ὥρμιζω is almost universally the Word made use of to express the former ; the difference between the two Words is particularly set forth by *Phavorinus*, ὥρμειω, says he, ἐν τῷ λιμένι ἵσται, ὥρμιζω δὲ τὸ εἰς τὸν λιμένα εἰσάγομαι : I will not therefore absolutely say that the *French* and *Latin* Translators have mistaken this Passage, but with the former, instead of saying *elles vinrent mouiller l'ancre*, had said *elles étoient à l'ancre près de la Tenté de Cyrus* ; and that the latter, instead of saying *naves propter Cyri Tentorium adpulerant*, had said, *in anchoris stabant*.

Tent. Hither also four hundred heavy-arm'd Greeks, leaving *Abrocomas*, in whose Service they were, came to *Cyrus*, and march'd with him against the King.

FROM hence *Cyrus* made in one march five Parasangas to the <sup>59</sup> Gates of *Cilicia* and

*Syria* :

<sup>59</sup> *Ἐπὶ πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας.* There Plin. N.H. are two Passes upon the Mountains that divide *Cilicia* 5 B. c. 22. from *Syria*, as we find in *Pliny*, and *Tully's* Epistles, where the latter gives the Reasons why he led the Army, which he commanded as Proconsul, into *Cappadocia* rather than into *Cilicia* : *duo enim sunt aditus in Cili-* Cicero, *ciam ex Syria*, one of these is called *πύλαι Ἀμανικαί*, 15 B. by *Pliny* *portæ Aman montis*, and the other simply *πύλαι*, 4 Epist. or, as the last mention'd Author-calls them, *portæ Cili-* Plin. ib. *ciæ*; the former are to the Eastward of the latter, which, as we find in this Account of *Xenophon*, lie close to the Sea. There is a doubt which of these is meant by our Author; this Doubt will be clear'd, if we look into *Arrian*, where we shall find *Alexander* to have taken the same Rout with *Cyrus* for a great way, and to have often encamp'd in the same places : After that Prince had pass'd these *πύλαι* mentioned by *Xenophon*, and while he lay with his Army at *Myriandros*, the same Arrian, place where *Cyrus* encamp'd after he had pass'd them, 2 Book. he receiv'd Advice that *Darius* had left his Camp at *Sachi*, within two days march of the *πύλαι*, and having pass'd the Mountains at the *πύλαι Ἀμανικαί*, or the eastern Pass, was got behind him and marching to *Iffus*. *Alexander* was pleas'd to find his Enemy had abandon'd the Advantage of a champaign Country, and shut up his numerous Army, the chief Strength of which consisted in Horse, between the Mountains and the Sea, and, marching back, possess'd himself again of the *πύλαι* that Night; the next Day he engag'd *Darius*, and the Ground between this Pass and *Iffus* was



*Syria* : These were two Fortresses, of which the inner next *Cilicia* was possess'd by *Syenneſis* with a Guard of *Cilicians*, and the outer next to *Syria* was said to be defended by the King's Troops : Between these two Fortresses runs a River called *Kersus*, one hundred Feet in breadth : The Interval between them was three Stadia in the whole, through which it was not possible to force a way ; for the Pass was narrow, the Fortresses reaching down to the Sea, and above were inaccessible <sup>60</sup> Rocks. In both these Fortresses stood the Gates. In order to gain this Pass, *Cyrus* sent for his Ships, that, by landing his heavy-arm'd Men both within, and without the Gates, they might force their Passage through the *Syrian* Gates, if defended by the Enemy ; which he expected *Abrocomas*, who was at the Head of a great Army,

Died. Sic. was the Scene of that memorable Victory : This hap-  
pen'd in the 4<sup>th</sup> Year of the 111<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, 68 Years  
after *Cyrus* march'd through *Cilicia*.

<sup>60</sup> Πέτραι ἡλίβατοι. This Expression is very poetical, and often made use of by *Homer*, whose Scholiast explains it in this manner, ἥς ὁ ἥλιος μόνος ἐπιβάλλει, a Rock inaccessible to every thing but to the Rays of the Sun. When *Patroclus* reproaches *Achilles* with his Cruelty in suffering the *Greeks* to be slain in such numbers for want of his Assistance, he tells him,

Homer II.  
π.

— ἔκ ἄρα σὴι γε πατὴρ ἢ ἱπποτα Πηλεὺς,  
Οὐδὲ θεῖτις μήτηρ γλαυκὴ δέ σε τίκτε θάλασσα  
Πέτραι τ' ἡλίβατοι, ὅτι τοὶ νόος ἐς' αὐπνής.

Army, would attempt : However *Abrocomas* did not do this, but, as soon as he heard *Cyrus* was in *Cilicia*, he suddenly left *Phœnicia*, and went back to the King, with an Army, consisting, as it was said, of three hundred thousand Men.

FROM thence *Cyrus* advanc'd through *Syria*, and in one march made five Parafangas to *Myriandrus*, a City near the Sea, inhabited by the *Phœnicians*. " This was a Mart-Town, and many Merchant Ships lay at Anchor before it. Here they staid seven Days : During which *Xenias* the *Arcadian* General, and *Pasion* the *Megarean*, taking Ship, and putting their most valuable Effects on board, sail'd away. It was the general Opinion, that this was owing to their Resentment against *Clearchus*, whom *Cyrus* had suffer'd to retain the Troops that left them, and put themselves under his Command with a view of returning to *Greece*, and not of marching against the King.

" Εμπόριον ὃ ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ, καὶ ὤρουν αὐτοῦσι θλακᾶδες πολλαί. Here *Hutchinson* has translated ὤρουν in the manner I have contended for in the 58<sup>th</sup> Annotation ; *Leunclavius* has still adher'd to *adpulerant*. *D'Ablancourt* has left out the whole Period in his Translation. θλακᾶς, παρὰ Θεκυδίδη, ἢ ἐμπορικὰ ναῦς. *Suidas*.

King. As soon therefore as they disappear'd, a Rumour was spread that *Cyrus* would follow them with his Galleys: Some wished that, having acted perfidiously, they might be taken: others <sup>62</sup> pitied them, if they should fall into his hands,

BUT *Cyrus* calling together the General Officers, spoke thus to them: "*Xenias* and *Pasion* have left us, but let them be assur'd that they are not <sup>63</sup> gone away so as to be conceal'd,

“ Οἱ δ' ὥκτερον εἰ αλωσίντο. I own, I cannot, with the *Latin* Translators, see the necessity of supplying this Sentence with any Word in order to complement it; I think the Expression elegant, the Sense plain, and the eventual Commiseration fully pointed out by the conditional Particle εἰ.

<sup>63</sup> Αποδεδράκασιν. *Ammonius* and *Phavorinus* are quoted upon this occasion by *Hutchinson*, to shew the difference between ἀποδράναι and ἀποφύγειν, the first, say they, signifies τὸ ἀναχωρήσαντά τινα εὐδηλον εἶναι ὅπως ἔστι, the other τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἐπιληφθῆναι, and, to support this, the Passage now before us in *Xenophon* is cited by *Ammonius*. Now I own, that, notwithstanding the very great deference, which I have, and which every one ought to have for those two Grammarians, and the Person who quotes them, yet I cannot help thinking that the very Passage they quote, destroys the difference they have establish'd; for, if ἀποδράναι signifies, as they say, to retire in such a manner that the Place of Retreat is known, Ἀποδεδράκασιν here must signify the reverse, for *Cyrus* tells the *Greeks* that they have not retir'd to a Place unknown to him, οὐδὲ ἀπεδεδράκασιν, because he says he knows whither they

conceal'd, (for I know whither they are going) neither are they escap'd, (for my Gallies can come up with their Ship.) But I  
 ‘‘ call the Gods to witness that I do not intend to pursue them, neither shall any one say, that, while People are with me, I use their Service ; but that, when they desire to leave me, I seize them, treat them ill, and rob them of their Fortunes. ‘‘ Let them

go

they are going : *Hutchinson* himself confirms what I say by his Translation, even against his own Quotation, for he says, *nec clam se aufugisse* ; whereas if the Observation of the Authors he quotes, is just, and that ἀποδράναι signifies ἀναχωρήσαντά τινα εὐδηλον εἶναι, he should have translated it *nec palam se aufugisse*. I wish, I don't say for the Advantage of the Sense, but for the Ease of the Translator, that *Xenophon* had said ἀποδεράκασιν μὲν, ἢ ἀπαπεφύγασιν δὲ, I should then have translated it, they are fled, but not escap'd.

‘‘ Μὰ τῶς Θεῶς. Μὰ is a negative Asseveration, and ναὶ an affirmative one.

‘‘ Ἰόντων. The Use of the genitive Case plural of the Participle, is very common with the *Attick* Writers, instead of the third Person plural of the imperative Mood in the same Tense, unless ἔωσαν, according to the Opinion of some Criticks, is upon those occasions to be understood. *Diogenes Laërtius* gives a remarkable Instance of something like this ; it relates to the Trial of *Socrates*, where *Plato* offering to speak to the Judges in defence of his Master, began his Speech in this manner : Νεώτατός ὢν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀναβάντων, upon which the Judges interrupted him by calling out καταβάντων, for κατὰβηθι, and made him come down. But the

*Attick*

go therefore, and remember, they have behav'd themselves worse to me, than I to them. Their Wives and Children are under a Guard at *Tralles*, however not even these shall they be depriv'd of, but shall receive them in return for the gallant Behaviour they have formerly shewn in my Service." Thus *Cyrus* spoke : The *Greeks*, if any before shewed a backwardness to the Enterprize, seeing this Instance of *Cyrus* Virtue, followed him with greater Pleasure and Chearfulness.

AFTER this *Cyrus* in four days march made twenty Parasangas, and came to the River *Chalus*, which is one hundred Feet broad, and full " of large tame Fish, which

the  
*Attick* Authors are not singular in the Use of this Phrase : *Homer* says

Homer  
Il. β.

—— κήρυκες μὲν Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτόνῳ  
Λαὸν κηρύσσοντες ἀγειρόντων κατὰ νῆας,

for ἀγειρέτωσαν. This Atticism is often made use of by the best Authors.

Lucian of  
the Syrian  
Goddeſs.

" Πλήρη δ' ἰχθύων μεγάλων, &c. *Lucian*, in his Treatise of the *Syrian* Goddeſs, has a Passage that will explain this of *Xenophon* ; he says, the *Syrians* look'd upon Fish as a sacred thing, and never touch'd them ; and that they eat all Birds but Pigeons, which they esteem'd holy : he adds, these Superſtitious were owing to their Respect for *Derceto* and *Semiramis*, the first of whom had the Shape of a Fish, and the other was chang'd into a Pigeon. That Author has affected to write this Treatise in the *Ionick* Stile, his Words are these :

ἰχθύας,

the *Syrians* look upon as Gods, and do not suffer them to be hurt any more than Pigeons. The Villages in which they encamp'd belong'd

ἰχθύας, χρημα ἰσὺν νομίζουσι καὶ ἔκοτε ἰχθύων ψαύουσι. καὶ ὄρνιθας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας σιτέονται, περιστερὴν δὲ μύθη καὶ σιτέονται, ἀλλὰ σφίσι ἦδε ἰρή. τὰ δὲ γιγνώμενα δοκέει αὐτοῖς ποιέεσθαι Δερκετῶς, καὶ Σεμιράμις ἕνεκα τὸ μὲν, ὅτι Δερκετῶ μορφὴν ἰχθύος ἔχει· τὸ δὲ, ὅτι τὸ Σεμιράμις τέλει εἰς περιστερὴν ἀπῆκετο. This Tradition is something varied by *Diodorus Siculus*, who <sup>2 B.</sup> *Sic.* says, that *Derceto* being brought to bed of *Semiramis*, threw herself into a Lake, and was chang'd into a Fish, for which reason, he says, the *Syrians* worshipp'd Fish as Gods. The same Author adds, that *Semiramis*, when a Child, was fed by Pigeons, 'till a Person who had the Super-intendency over the King's Herds, took her home to his own House, and called her *Semiramis*, a Name deriv'd, as he says, from Pigeons in the *Syrian* Language: and that this was the occasion of the Worship the *Syrians* paid to Pigeons. It may not be improper to acquaint the Reader, that the Goddesses called *Derceto* by the *Greeks*, and *Atargatis* by the *Syrians*, *Plin. Nat.* was look'd upon by the last as the Mother of *Semiramis*, *Hist. 5 B.* and worshipp'd as a Goddess in *Bambyce*, by them, *c. 23.* called *Magog*. *Lucian* says, she was represented in *Phœnicia* as a Woman to the Waist, and from thence as a Fish; which made *Selden* of opinion, that *Derceto* <sup>Selden de</sup> and *Dagon*, who was also represented in the same manner, were the same Divinity, though it is certain that <sup>Diis Syris</sup> *Dagon* was look'd upon as a God, and *Derceto* as a Goddess. <sup>Synt. 2. c. 3.</sup> Had *d'Ablancourt* consider'd these Matters, he would not have been so hasty in condemning *Xenophon* of too great Credulity, neither would he have thought himself under any Obligation of softning, as he calls it, these Facts, for fear of corrupting the Truth of History: Particularly since *Diodorus Siculus* also says, <sup>Diod. Sic.</sup> the fabulous Tradition of *Derceto* being chang'd into <sup>2 B.</sup> a Fish prevail'd so far, that the *Syrians*, even in his time, abstain'd from Fish, and honour'd them as Gods.

long'd to *Parysatis*, and were given to her for her Table <sup>67</sup>. From thence he made in five days march thirty Parasangas, and arriv'd at the Source of the River *Daradax*, of which the Breadth was one hundred Feet. Here stood the Palace of *Belesis*, who was formerly Governor of *Syria*, with a very large and beautiful Park producing every thing proper to the Season : *Cyrus* laid waste the Park, and burn'd the Palace. From thence in three days march he made fifteen Parasangas, and came to the River *Euphrates*, which

is

<sup>67</sup> Εἰς ζῶνιν δεδομένοι, &c. *Hutchinson* has departed from the Text, and without the Authority of any Manuscript, has followed *Muretus* and *Jungermannus* in Cicero in Verrem, reading ζῶνιν instead of ζῶν. Indeed the Passages he 3 B. c. 23. has supported this Correction with, out of *Tully*, *Plato*, *Plato* in Alcib. 1 P. to give some particular Cities to their Queens to find p. 123. them in Girdles, others to find them in Necklaces, and others in Shoes; so that it cannot be denied but εἰς ζῶνιν is here very proper; but it is as certain from C. Nepos, those Authors he has quoted, and indeed from every Life of Author, who has treated of the Affairs of *Persia*, that Themis. the *Persian* Kings also assign'd particular Cities to those Athenæus whom they had a mind to honour, to find them in δειπν. Bread, others to find them in Wine, and others in 1 B. c. 23. Meat, or, as some will have it, in Fish. In this manner *Artaxerxes* Μαρρόχεις, distinguish'd *Themistocles*, Plutarch in Themistocles, εἰς ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ὀψον, as *Plutarch* and *Thucydides* say; so that it is not at all improbable the Villages our Author here speaks of, might be assign'd to *Parysatis* to supply her Table; but if the Reader prefers ζῶνιν, it must then be translated; that these Villages were given to *Parysatis* to find her in Girdles.

is four Stadia in breadth. There stood  
<sup>68</sup> *Thapsacus*, a large and flourishing City,  
here they staid five Days; during which *Cyrus*,  
sending for the Generals of the *Greeks*, told  
them that he propos'd to march to *Babylon*  
against the great King, and order'd them to  
acquaint the Soldiers with this, and to per-  
suade them to follow him. They, calling  
them together, inform'd them of it; but the  
Soldiers were angry with their Generals,  
saying they knew this before, but conceal'd  
it from them; and refus'd to march, unless  
they had Money given them, as the other  
Soldiers had, who before attended *Cyrus* to  
his Father, and that not to fight, but only  
to wait upon him, when his Father sent for  
him. The Generals gave *Cyrus* an account  
of this; and he promis'd to give every Man  
five <sup>69</sup> Mines of Silver, as soon as they  
came to *Babylon*, and their full Pay, 'till he  
brought them back to *Ionia*. By this means  
great part of the *Greeks* were prevail'd upon.  
But *Menon*, before it appear'd whether the  
rest of the Soldiers would follow *Cyrus*, or  
not, called his own Men together apart,  
and spoke thus to them : FELLOW-

<sup>68</sup> Θάψακος. Here *Darius* pass'd the *Euphrates*  
with the broken Remains of his Army, after his De- Arrian  
feat at *Issus*. 2 Book.

<sup>69</sup> Πέντε Αργυρίε μνᾶς. See the 11<sup>th</sup> Remark. Exp. Alex.



FELLOW-Soldiers! if you will follow my Advice, you shall, without either Danger, or Labour, be in greater esteem with *Cyrus*, than the rest of the Army. What then do I advise? *Cyrus* is this minute entreating the *Greeks* to follow him against the King: I say therefore we ought to pass the *Euphrates*, before it appears what Answer the rest of the *Greeks* will make to him; for, if they determine to follow him, you will be look'd upon as the Cause of it by first passing the River, and *Cyrus* will not only think himself under an Obligation to you, as to those who are the most zealous for his Service, but will return it; (which no Man better understands); but if the rest determine otherwise, we will <sup>70</sup> then all return: As you only are obedient to his Orders, he will look upon you as Persons of the greatest Fidelity, and as such employ you in the Command both of Garrisons and of Companies; and I am confident you will find *Cyrus* your Friend <sup>71</sup> in what-  
ever

<sup>70</sup> Ἀπικνεν. *Hutchinson* has observed from *Stephens*, that εἰμι is remarkable among those Verbs which the *Attick* Writers use in the present Tense, instead of the future.

<sup>71</sup> Ως φίλν. I agree with *Hutchinson* that this is an Ellipsis, and that ὑπὸ, or something like it,

ever else you desire of him." The Soldiers, hearing this, followed his Advice, and pass'd the *Euphrates*, before the rest had return'd an Answer : When *Cyrus* heard they had pass'd the River, he was pleas'd, and sending *Glus* to them, order'd him to say to them in his Name ; " Soldiers ! I praise you " now for what you have done, and will " take care that you also shall have reason to " praise me ; if I do not, think me no longer " *Cyrus*." Upon this the Soldiers conceiv'd great hopes, and prayed for his Success. It was reported that he also sent magnificent Presents to *Menon*. After this he pass'd the River, and all the rest of the Army followed ; in their Passage the Water did not come up higher than their Breasts. The Inhabitants of *Thapsacus* said that the River was never fordable before, or passable but in Boats, which *Abrocomas* had burn'd, as he march'd before them, to prevent *Cyrus* from passing over : it seem'd therefore providential

is to be understood ; without condemning ὑπὸ, I should like παρὰ full as well ; thus *Telemachus* tells *Menelaus* in the same Phrase,

—— παρὰ σεῖο τυχὼν φιλότῃ ἀπάσης  
"Ερχομαι.

Homer  
Odyss. O.

vidential <sup>72</sup>, and that the River visibly submitted to *Cyrus*, as to its future King.

FROM thence he advanc'd through <sup>73</sup> *Syria*, and having in nine days march made fifty *Parasangas*, came to the River <sup>74</sup> *Araxes*: here were many Villages full of Corn and Wine. There they staid three Days, and made their Provisions: from thence he mov'd on through

<sup>72</sup> ΕΔΟΧΕΙ ΔΕ ΘΕΙΟΥ ΕΐΝΑΙ. I make no doubt but what *Xenophon* says concerning this Submission of the *Euphrates*, was the Stile of *Cyrus* Court upon this occasion. It seems the *Euphrates* was not indued with the same Spirit of Prophecy that *Horace* gives to *Nereus*: otherwise, like him, he would have cried out *mala ducis avi*; and not have suffered his Army to have forded him so easily, a favour he afterwards denied to *Alexander*, whose Success might have given him a better Title to it, and who was oblig'd to pass this River at the same Place over two Bridges.

Arrian 3  
B.

<sup>73</sup> Διὰ τῆς Συρίας. Let not the Reader be surpriz'd to find *Xenophon* mentions *Syria* in *Mesopotamia*, through which he is now conducting *Cyrus*; for it appears both by *Pliny* and *Strabo*, that the Country lying between *Thapsacus*, and the *Scenite Arabians*, of whom *Strabo*, <sup>16</sup> he will speak presently, was part of *Syria*.

B.

<sup>74</sup> Ἀράξην. I never yet could find this River in any other Author but *Xenophon*, I mean a River call'd *Araxes*, that runs through this Part of *Syria*; for every body knows there are Rivers of this Name in other Parts of *Asia*, so must submit it to the Learned whether this River is the *Aboras* of *Marcellinus*, which *Strabo* calls ΑΒΟΡΡΑΣ, and *Ptolemy* χαβόρας, and the *Arabians* *Al Chabur*.

Ammian.  
Marcel.  
5 B. c. 18.  
*Strabo*,  
16 Book.  
*Ptolemy*,  
5 B. c. 18.

through <sup>75</sup> *Arabia*, keeping the River *Euphrates* on his right hand, and in five days march through a Desert, made thirty-five Parasangas. The Country was a Plain throughout, as even as the Sea, and full of Wormwood; and, if any other kinds of Shrubs, or Reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic Smell: but no Trees appear'd. Of wild Creatures, the most numerous were wild <sup>76</sup> Asses, and not a few Ostriches:

<sup>75</sup> Διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας. The Inhabitants of this Part of *Arabia* are called by *Strabo* Σκηυῖται Ἀραβες, they *Strabo*, were a vagabond People, and, like most of their Coun- 16 B. trymen, great Robbers; *Nomades*, *infestoresque Chal-*  
*dæorum*, *Scenitæ*, says *Pliny*, *a tabernaculis cognominati*: *Plin.* 6 B. they were afterwards called *Saracens*; which Name c. 28. *Sagiler* derives from *Saric*, which in *Arabic* signifies *Ammian*: a Robber: Those, who have travell'd through *Asia*, will not think this Etymology forc'd.

<sup>76</sup> Ἀγριοὶ ὄνοι. All Authors, both ancient and mo- *Oppian*.  
dern, agree, that wild Asses are exceeding swift. *Op-* *Κυνήγ.*  
*pian*, in his Treatise of Hunting, calls the wild Ass 3 B.  
*ἄελλοπόδην*, swift as the Wind, an Epithet given by  
*Homer* to the Horses which *Jupiter* bestowed on the *Homer*  
Father of *Ganymede*, to make him some amends for the *ἔμνη* *ἔμνη*  
loss of his Son. The wild Ass is very different both *Ἀφροδ.*  
in its Shape and Colour from the common Ass. There  
is a Skin of this Animal at the College of Physicians in  
*London*; another I have seen, among many other Cu-  
riofities, natural and artificial, ancient and modern,  
belonging to my Neighbour Sir *Andrew Fountaine*:  
The first of these is stuff'd, and by that the Creature ap-  
pears to have been between twelve and thirteen Hands  
high; the Colour of every Part about him is compos'd  
of white and chesnut Stripes, his Ears, Mane, and

Ostriches <sup>77</sup> : there were also <sup>78</sup> Bustards,  
and <sup>79</sup> Roe-Deer : These Creatures our  
Horse-

Tail are like those of a common Ass ; his Forehand is long and thin, his Shoulders fine, his Back straight, his Body full, his Hoofs a little bound, his Legs perfectly fine; he seems a little goose-rump'd, his Quarters are thin and lying under him, and his Hams bent inward; to these three last Shapes he very probably owes his Speed. This Doctrine I know all Sportsmen will not allow, but many Observations in Sporting have convinc'd me of the Truth of it. Wild Asses were sometimes made use of by the Ancients to cover Mares, in

Plin.N.H.  
8 B.

order to breed Mules ; but all their Authors agree, that the best Stallion for that purpose was an Ass bred between a wild Male Ass, and a Female of the common kind. *Pliny* tells us also, that the Foals of wild Asses were called *Lalifiones*, and were delicate Meat. Wild Asses are common in the Deserts of *Numidia* and *Lybia*, and particularly in *Arabia* ; they are sold at an excessive Price when reclaim'd, and it is said the Kings of *Persia* have always Stables of them. When they are young, their Flesh is like that of a Hare, and when old, like red Venison.

Galen.

<sup>77</sup> Στραβοὶ αἱ μεγάλοι. Ostriches are Animals very well known, they are common in *Africa*, *South America*, and many Parts of the *Levant*, as *Arabia* and *Mesopotamia*, &c. I remember to have seen two that were shewn at *London* ; we were inform'd they came from *Buenos Ayres*: they answer'd the Description given of them in Books. Their Feathers, in so great request for several kinds of Ornaments, particularly upon the Stage, and anciently in War, *conos galeasque adornantes pennas*, says *Pliny* ; these, I say, come from their

Plin.N.H.  
10 B. c. 1.

Tailand Wings, and are generally white : The Feather of an Ostrich was among the *Egyptians* the Emblem of Justice. All Authors agree, that in running they assist themselves with their Wings, in the manner described by *Xenophon* : some have thought that this compound Motion, which consists both of flying and running, gave occasion to the Fiction of the poetical Horse,

Urreta  
Hist. of  
Æthiopia.

Horsemen sometimes chac'd. The Asses, when they were pursu'd, having gain'd ground of the Horses, stood still, (for they exceeded them much in speed) and when these came up with them, they did the same thing again: so that our Horsemen could

E 3

take

*Horse, Pegasus.* It is said they eat Iron, which is so far true, that in those dissected in the Academy of Sciences at *Paris*, they found several Pieces of Iron-Money in them more than half diminish'd; but this was occasion'd by the mutual Attrition of those Pieces, and not by Digestion, for they swallow Iron to grind their Meat, as other Birds swallow Pebbles for the same purpose.

<sup>78</sup> *Strides.* Bustards are very well known to Sportsmen; we have great numbers of them in *Norfolk*; they are remarkable for having no more than three Claws, like the Dotterel, and some few other Birds; they are scarce to be approach'd by any Contrivance, as I have been taught by many Disappointments: possibly this may be owing to their exquisite Sense of bearing, no Bird having in proportion to its Size, so large an Aperture to convey it. What *Xenophon* says concerning their short Flights, can only be understood of them before they are full grown, for, when they are so, they make Flights of five or six Miles with great ease. *Pliny* and *Xenophon*, like many other *Pede-Pl. 10 B.* ple, differ in their Taste with relation to Bustards; *c. 22.* the first calls them *damnatas in Cibis*, the last, we find, commends them.

<sup>79</sup> *Agreades.* We have no Roe-Deer in the South of *England*, they are common in *France, des Chevreuils*: I have often seen them hunted there; they run the Foot more than a Hare, and hunt shorter; they have great speed, but, as they do not run within themselves, but often tapise, and consequently give frequent Views, they seldom stand long even before their Hounds. They are vastly less than our Fallow Deer, and are very good Meat, when fat, which seldom happens.

take them by no other means but by dividing themselves into Relays, and succeeding one another in the Chace. The Flesh of those that were taken was like that of red Deer, but more tender. But none could take an Ostrich, the Horsemen, who pursued them, soon giving it over: for they flew far away as they fled, making use both of their Feet to run, and of their Wings, when expanded, as a Sail, to waft them along. As for the Bustards, they may be taken, if one springs them hastily, for they make short flights, like Partridges, and are soon tir'd. Their Flesh was very delicious.

IN marching through this Country they came to the River *Masca*, which is a hundred Feet in breadth. Here was a large City uninhabited, called *Corfote*; the River runs quite round it: in this place they staid three Days, and made their Provisions. From thence he made ninety Parasangas in thirteen days march, through a Desert, keeping the *Euphrates* still on his right, and came to *Pyla*. In these Marches many sumpter Horses died of Hunger, for here was no Grass, nor any other Plant, but the whole Country was bare: the Inhabitants  
dig

dig<sup>80</sup> Mill-stones near the River, and having fashion'd them, carry these Stones to *Babylon*, where they sell them, and in return buy Provisions for their support. By this time the Army wanted Corn, and there was none to be bought, but in the *Lydian* Market, which was in the Camp of the *Barbarians*, belonging to *Cyrus*, where a <sup>81</sup> Capithe of <sup>82</sup> Wheat, or Barley-Meal was sold for four <sup>83</sup> Sigli. The Siglus is worth seven *Attick* Oboli <sup>84</sup> and a half; and the Capithe holds two *Attick* <sup>85</sup> Chœnixes: so that the Sol-

E 4

diers

<sup>80</sup> Οὐς ἀλέτας. Οἱ ὁ ἀνώτερος λιθὸς τῆ μύλα. *Phavorinus*. So that ὄνοι ἀλέται signify properly the upper Mill-stones.

<sup>81</sup> Καπιθ. From this Passage it appears that the Καπιθ held two *Attick* Chœnixes.

<sup>82</sup> Ἀλεύρων. *Hutchinson* has, with great Judgment, supported the *Greek* Text against *Muretus*, who wanted to strike out ἀλέρων, as signifying the same thing with ἀλφίτων, whereas *Phavorinus* from the Scholiast of *Æschylus*, plainly distinguishes ἀλευρα from ἀλφίτα, *Æschyl.* shewing that the first signifies the Flower of Wheat, *Schol.* and the other that of Barley, Ἀλευρα κυρίως τὰ ἐκ σίτου, ἀλφίτα τὰ ἐκ κριθῶν ἀλευρα. *Phavorinus*. *p. 31.*

<sup>83</sup> Σίγλι. This was a *Persian* Coin: *Hesychius* and *Phavorinus* make it worth eight ὀβολοί, but this Passage shews it was worth but  $7\frac{1}{2}$ .

<sup>84</sup> Ὀβολός. The ὀβολός was the sixth part of a *Phavori-* Drachm, it was called so from its Resemblance to a Spit. *nus.* *Julius* See the 11<sup>th</sup> Annotation concerning the *Greek* Coins. *Pollux.*

<sup>85</sup> Χοῖνιξ. A dry Measure containing three Κοτύλαι, *Arbut-* which were equal to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  of the ξέστη; the χοῖνιξ con- *not.* tain'd 49,737 solid Inches,



diets liv'd upon Flesh." Some of these Marches were very long, when *Cyrus* had a mind his Army should go on 'till they came to water or forage. And once where the Road was narrow and so deep, that the Carriages could not pass without difficulty; *Cyrus* stopp'd with those about him of the greatest Authority, and Fortune, and order'd *Glus* and *Pigres* to take some of the *Barbarians* belonging to his Army and help the Carriages through: but, thinking they went slowly about it, he order'd, as in Anger, the most considerable *Persians*, who were with him, to assist in hastening on the Carriages: This afforded an Instance of their ready Obedience; for, throwing off their purple<sup>96</sup> Robes, where each of them happen'd to stand, they ran, as if it had been for a Prize, even down a very steep Hill, in their costly Vests, and embroider'd<sup>97</sup> Drawers, some even with Chains about their

<sup>96</sup> *ἑσθλὴ*. *Καλὸς*, *Χιτὼν Περσικός*. *Suidas*. A Persian Robe.

Diodorus  
Siculus  
5. 4.

<sup>97</sup> *Ἀναξυρίδας*. *Ἀναξυρίδες* were also part of the Dress of the old Gauls; according to *Diodorus Siculus*, who says, they called them *Βράχαι*, which *Bracca* it is certain gave name to a very considerable Part of France, call'd from thence *Gallia Braccata*, the same with *Gallia Narbonensis*: The French Language has retain'd

their Necks, and Bracelets round their Wrists; and, leaping into the Dirt with these, they lifted up the Carriages, and brought them out sooner than can be imagin'd. Upon the whole, *Cyrus* appear'd throughout to hasten their march, stopping no where, unless to get Provisions, or for something else that was necessary; for he judg'd that the quicker he march'd, the more unprepar'd the King would be to encounter him, and the slower, the more numerous would be the King's Army; for it was obvious to any Person of Attention, that the *Persian* Empire, though strong with regard to the <sup>88</sup> Extent of Country, and Numbers

of  
tain'd this word, *Bragues*, which is soften'd into a more modern one *Brayes*. I leave it to some profound Antiquary, who may be dispos'd to employ his idle Labour in this Enquiry, to consider how far this Dress, *Perfius*, from which *Perfius* calls the *Medes*, *Medos Braccatos*, <sup>3 Sat.</sup> and which *Ovid* calls *Persica Bracca*, how far, I say, *Ovid*, <sup>5 B.</sup> this Dress, which we find to have been common both <sup>Trist.</sup> to the *Persians* and *Gauls* of old, may be a proof of their being descended originally from the same People, that is, the *Scythians*, who, after they had conquer'd the *Medes*, continued Masters of that Part of *Asia* for eight and twenty Years; particularly since we find in *Herodotus*, that among the *Persians* there was a People <sup>Herodotus</sup> called *Γερμανοί*, *Germans*. <sup>Clio.</sup>

<sup>88</sup> ~~NAME~~. This Word signifies Quantity in this place, when applied to the Country; and Number, when applied to the Men; it is frequently used by the best Authors in the first Sense as well as the last.

of Men, was however weak by reason of the great Distance of Places, and the Division of its Forces, when surpriz'd by a sudden Invasion.

DURING their march through the Desert, they saw a large and rich City on the other side of the *Euphrates*, called *Carmande*; here the Soldiers bought <sup>89</sup> Provisions, passing over to it <sup>90</sup> upon Rafts, in the

<sup>89</sup> *Ηγόραζον*, Somebody has violently provok'd *Hutchinson* by finding fault with the Scripture-Writers, for making use of this Word in the Sense *Xenophon* uses it upon this occasion: There can be no doubt but *ἀγοράζειν* is to be found in the best Authors in this Sense; I remember a Passage in *Isocrates* to *Nicocles*, which will not only support what I have said, but may well deserve translating; *δορεὰς ὑμεῖς πολὺ πλείονα ἀγοράζετε παρὰ τῶν δίδόντων ἢ παρὰ τῶν πωλόντων*. You (Men of Fortune) purchase Presents much dearer from those who give, than from those who sell.

<sup>90</sup> *Σχεδιάς*. Whenever *Homer* speaks of the Boat, which *Ulysses* built with his own Hands in four Days, in *Ogygia*, *Calypso's* Island, he calls it *σχέδιον*, which is thus explain'd by the Scholiast, *εἰκαλώς κατασκευασθεῖσα ναῦς*; a Boat built on a sudden; it signifies also an extemporary Bridge, in which Sense *Herodotus* applies it to the two Bridges of Boats, over which *Xerxes* pass'd the *Hellepont*. Here *Xenophon* uses it for a Raft, (if I may be allowed to make use of that Word upon this occasion) made of Skins stuff'd with Hay,

Herodotus  
Polyhym-  
nia.

the following manner : They filled the <sup>91</sup> Skins, which they made use of for Tents, with dry Hay ; then join'd, and sewed them together so close, that the Water could not get at the Hay : upon these they passed the River, and got Provisions ; such as Wine made of the <sup>92</sup> Fruit of the Palm-Tree, and  
Panic,

<sup>91</sup> Διφθέρας. This Method of passing Rivers was formerly much in use ; as the Soldiers Tents were generally made of Skins, instead of Canvas, they had always great numbers of them at hand ; the Tents of the Romans were also made of Skins, from whence come these Phrases, *sub pellibus durare*, and *sub pellibus contineri*, which we find in *Livy* and *Cæsar*. *Alexander*, in his victorious March through *Asia*, pass'd several Rivers in this manner, particularly the *Oxus*, the Passage of which is describ'd by *Arrian* in such a manner, that it is obvious to any one he had this Description of *Xenophon* in his Eye, which, I think, he explains much better than I can, his Words are these : *ξυναγαγὼν δὲ τὰς διφθέρας ὑφ' αἷς ἐσκήνυν οἱ στρατιῶται, φορυτοῦ ἐμπλήσαι ἐκέλευσεν ὡς ξηροτάτη, καὶ καταδῆσαι τε καὶ ξυρράψαι ἀκριβῶς τὰ μὴ ἐνδύεσθαι ἐς αὐτὰς τὰ ὕδατα*. *Livy*, 5 B. *Cæsar* B. G. 4 B. c. 38. *Arrian*, 3 B.

<sup>92</sup> Τῆς βαλάνου. The Fruit of the Palm-Tree is properly called Dates, of which there is an infinite variety : of these they make in *Persia* a Wine, which is very agreeable, but does not keep well : of this Wine, *Cambyzes*, when he was in *Egypt*, sent a Hog-head to the King of the *Ethiopians*. as a Present ; with this Wine the *Egyptians* wash'd their dead Bodies before they embalm'd them. By the way, I have always thought, that the Fruit of a certain Palm-Tree, describ'd by *Pliny*, who calls the Trees *Syagri*, answers exactly to the Coco-nut : This Palm-Tree, he says, grew in that Part of the *Lower Egypt*, which he calls *Chora Alexandria* ; *Herodotus* *Thalia*. *Id. in Euterpe*. *Plin.* N.H. 13 B. c. 9

Panic for of this there was great plenty in the Country. Here, some dispute arising between *Menon's* Soldiers, and those of *Clearchus*, the latter, thinking one of *Menon's* Men in the wrong, struck him; the Soldier, going to his Companions, inform'd them of it; these, hearing what had pass'd, resented it, and were violently incens'd against *Clearchus*: The same day *Clearchus* <sup>93</sup>, after he had been at the place, where the Men pass'd the River, and inspected the Provisions, rode back to his own Tent with a few Attendants through *Menon's* Army, *Cyrus* was not yet arriv'd but on his way thither. It happen'd that one of *Menon's* Soldiers, as he was riving Wood, saw *Clearchus* riding through the Camp, and threw his Ax at him, but miss'd him; then another, and another threw Stones at him, upon which, a great Outcry ensuing, many did the same. However,

*Clearchus*

*Alexandria*; the Description he gives of its Fruit, is, as follows, *Ipsum Pomum grande, durum, horridum & a ceteris generibus distans. Sapere ferine, quem ferre in Apris novimus, evidentissimamque causam est hominis.*

<sup>93</sup> Κλέαρχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τῇσι διαβάσεσιν τῶν παλαιῶν, καὶ ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆν ἀρχαίαν, ὁ Ἀβιανόουρ has left out all this in his Translation, as he has this Parenthesis also, Κῶς δ' ἔγωγε ἔκτε, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ προσή-

*Clarchus* escap'd to his own Quarter, and immediately order'd his Men to their Arms; he commanded the heavy-arm'd Soldiers to stand still, resting their Shields against their Knives, and taking with him the *Thracians* and the Horse, of whom he had above forty in his Army, the greatest part *Thracians*, he rode up to *Menon's* Men, who upon this were in great Consternation, as well as *Menon* himself, and ran to their Arms: Others stood amaz'd, not knowing what to do; but *Proxenus*, for he happen'd to be coming after them at the Head of his heavy-arm'd Men, advanc'd between them both, and, <sup>94</sup> making his

<sup>94</sup> Εθετο τὰ ὅπλα. *Hutchinson* with great reason finds fault with *Leunclavius* for translating this *arma deponebat*, for it really signifies the reverse, as he has very properly render'd it, *armis ritè dispositis*, and as *Harpocration* explains this Phrase, θέμεν τὰ ὅπλα, περιθέμεν, ὀπλισάμεν; And as *Shakespeare* has said, according to his Custom, more beautifully than *Macbeth*, any other Author, *the Powers above put on their Instruments*. Not that I imagine *Proxenus*, when he advanc'd between *Menon* and *Clarchus*, had his Armour to put on, but that he ordered his Men to stand to their Arms, that he might be prepar'd to prevent their engaging by force, if he could not prevail by fair means. Upon the whole, I look upon it that *Proxenus* put his Men in the same Posture, into which *Euryphus* in *Homer* threw the *Greeks*, in order to secure the Retreat of *Ajex*, when he was push'd by the *Trojans*.

his Soldiers stand to their Arms, begg'd of *Clearchus* to desist. But he took it very ill, that, having narrowly escap'd being ston'd to death, the other should speak tamely of his Grievance: And therefore desir'd he would with-draw from between them. In the mean time *Cyrus* came up, and being inform'd of what had happen'd, immediately took his Arms, and with the *Persians* who were present, rode between them, and spoke to them in the following manner: "*Clearchus!* and *Proxenus!* and you "*Greeks* who are present! you are not "*sensible* of what you are doing: for, if "*you* fight with one another, be assur'd, "*that* I shall this day be destroy'd; and "*you* not long after: for, if our Affairs "*decline*, all these *Barbarians*, whom you "*see* before you, will be greater Enemies "*to* you than those belonging to the King." *Clearchus*, hearing this, came to himself, and

II. A.

οἱ, οὐ παρ' αὐτὸν  
Πλησίῳ ἔστησαν σάκε ὁμοῖσι κλινάστας  
Δύρατ' ἀνασχόμενοι.

*D' Ablancourt* foresaw the Difficulty of this Passage, and prudently avoided it by leaving it quite out, a Conduct he observed about three Lines above, where he also omitted to translate οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔστησαν ἀπορῦντες τῷ πράγματι.

and both sides resigning their Anger, laid up their Arms<sup>95</sup> where they were before.

WHILE they were marching forward, there appeared the Footing and Dung of Horses, and, by the<sup>96</sup> Print of their Feet they were judged to be about two thousand :

<sup>95</sup> Κατὰ χώραν. I own, I cannot agree with *Hutchinson* that κατὰ χώραν, in this place, signifies *suo ordine & loco, ubi arma iter facientium disponi par est* : I think that is rather the Signification of ἐν χώρᾳ, than of κατὰ χώραν, the last implying no more than that a thing remain'd in the same place it was in before. In this Sense *Aristophanes* says, ἀλλ' ὁδὲ τὸ βλέμμι *Aristop.* αὐτὸ κατὰ χώραν ἔχει, his Look even is not the *Pluto's* same. So that a thing may be κατὰ χώραν, and not ἐν χώρᾳ, in the place it was, and not in the place it ought to be.

<sup>96</sup> Ο ἑῖβο. I make no doubt but ἑῖβο signifies, as *Hutchinson* has translated it, ὁδός : but I hope it will be allowed that it signifies also the Print of Feet ; there is a Passage in *Homer*, in his Hymn to *Homer Mercury*, which plainly proves that ἑῖβο has both *Hymn to Mercury* these Significations, for which reason I shall transcribe it :

Οφρα μὲν ἔν' ἐδίωκε διὰ ψαμαθώδεα χῶρον,  
Ρεῖα μάλ' ἔχρια πάντα διέπρεπεν ἐν κονίῃσιν·  
Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ψαμαθῶϊ μέγαν ἑῖβον ἐξεπέρησεν,  
Αφρατὸς γένετ' ὥκα βοῶν ἑῖβο, ἥδ' αὖ αὐτῇ  
Χῶρον ἀνὰ κρατερόν.

I shall hazard an Observation to shew, that our Author uses the Word here to signify the Print of the Horses Feet, it is this : The Article ὁ before ἑῖβο seems to me to refer to ἔχνη ἵππων, mention'd in the foregoing Line,



said : These, marching before, burn'd all the Forage, and every thing else that could be of any use. There was a *Persian*, by Name *Orontas*, a Prince of the Blood, and of a Reputation in military Affairs equal to the most considerable among the *Persians*. This Man form'd a Design to betray *Cyrus*, with whom he had before been at war ; but, being now reconcil'd, he told *Cyrus*, that, if he would give him a thousand Horse, he would place himself in Ambuscade, and either destroy those Horse that burn'd all before him, or take a great many of them Prisoners, which would prevent them both from burning the Country, and from being able to inform the King that they had seen his Army. *Cyrus* thought this Proposal for his Service, and ordered him to take a Detachment out of every Troop belonging to the several Commanders.

*ORONTAS* thinking the Horse were ready, writes a Letter to the King, in which he acquaints him, that he should come to him with as many Horse as he could get, and desires him to give Orders

to his own Horse that they <sup>97</sup> should receive him as a Friend : he also put him in mind of his former Friendship and Fidelity. This Letter he gives to a trusty Person, as he thought, who, as soon as he had receiv'd it, delivers it to *Cyrus* : After *Cyrus* had read the Contents, he orders *Orontas* to be apprehended, and causes <sup>98</sup> seven of the most considerable *Persians* about him to assemble in his Tent ; giving at the same time Orders to the *Greek* Generals to bring their heavy-arm'd

<sup>97</sup> ΑΛΛΑ. Ἀλλὰ is here, as *Hutchinson* has observed, παρακαλεῖν, an exhortative Particle ; in which Sense it is frequently used by *Xenophon*, and indeed by all Authors, particularly by *Homer*. There is a necessity of so frequent a Repetition in this place, that it unavoidably renders the Translation disagreeable ; the difference in the Termination of ἵππιας and ἵππεῦσι, and in *Latin* of *Equites* and *Equitibus*, makes the Reader insensible of this Repetition ; this is one Disadvantage, among many others, to which a literal Translation, in a modern Language, is subject. *D'Ablandcourt* always avoids these Repetitions, and every thing else that lays him under any Restraint, whatever Violence he may do to the Author's Sense ; it must be own'd, his Method gives a Translation the Air of an Original, but then it often makes it one.

<sup>98</sup> Τῆς ἀρίστης τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἑπτά. We often Joseph find a Council of seven mention'd by the Writers, <sup>12 B.</sup> who treat of the Affairs of *Persia* ; which Council Jew. Ant. seems to have been instituted in memory of the seven <sup>c. 6.</sup> *Persian* Noblemen, who put the Magi to death : of <sup>Zonaras,</sup> whom *Darius Hystaspes*, afterwards King of *Persia*, <sup>1 tom.</sup> was one. <sup>Esdra 7. c.</sup> <sup>Herodotus</sup> <sup>in Thalia.</sup>

arm'd Men, and place them round his Tent, with their Arms in their Hands: these obeyed his Commands, and brought with them about three thousand heavy-arm'd Men. He also called *Clearchus* to the Council, as a Man, whom both he, and the rest look'd upon to be of the greatest Dignity among the *Greeks*. When he came out, he gave his Friends an account of the Trial of *Orontas*, for Secrecy was not enjoin'd. He said *Cyrus* began his Speech in this manner:

“ FRIENDS! I have called you hither to  
 “ the end that I may consider with you of  
 “ what is most just both in the sight of Gods  
 “ and Men, and accordingly proceed against  
 “ this Criminal *Orontas*. In the first place,  
 “ my Father appointed <sup>100</sup> this Man to be my  
 “ Subject;

<sup>99</sup> Τὴν κρίσιν τῷ Ορόντῃ. Sure, *comme le procès d'Oronte avoit été jugé*, would have been as proper a Translation of these Words, as *comme la chose s'étoit passée*, in *d'Ablancourt*.

<sup>100</sup> Τῶτον γάρ. Γὰρ in this place is not design'd to introduce a Reason for what precedes, but, to enforce what follows, as in *Homer*,

Homer  
 Il. π.

Αυτήσω γὰρ ἐγὼ τῷ δ' ἀνέρι, ὅφρα δαίνο,  
 Οὔτις ὅδε κρατεῖ.

*D'Ablancourt* has render'd ὑπὸ μοῦ ἐμοὶ εἶναι in the same Sentence, *pour m'accompagner*.

“ Subject ; <sup>101</sup> afterwards, by the Command,  
 “ as he says, of my Brother, he made war  
 “ upon me, being then in possession of  
 “ the Citadel of *Sardes* ; this War I profe-  
 “ cuted in such a manner, as to dispose him  
 “ to desire an end of it, and I received his  
 “ <sup>102</sup> Hand, and gave him mine. Since that  
 “ time, continued *Cyrus*, say *Orontas*, have  
 “ I done you any Injury ?” To which he an-  
 “ swer’d, none. *Cyrus* again ask’d him, “ Did  
 “ not you afterwards, without any Provoca-  
 “ tion from me, as you yourself own, ‘re-  
 “ volt to the *Mysians*, and lay waste my  
 “ Country to the utmost of your power ?”  
*Orontas* own’d it. “ After that, continued

F 2

“ *Cyrus*,

<sup>101</sup> Επεὶ δέ. I have translated this as if *Xenophon*  
 had said ἔπειτα δέ, in which Sense ἐπεὶ δέ seems to  
 answer better to πρώτων μέν : *Hutchinson* has said *postea-*  
*quam*, which has no relation to *primum*, I think *deinde*  
 would have been better.

<sup>102</sup> Δεξιὸν ἔλαβον. *Hutchinson*, in his Annotations  
 upon the Institution of *Cyrus*, has brought several Au-  
 thorities to prove, that the Kings of *Persia* used to  
 pledge their Faith by giving their right Hands, which  
 to be sure is true ; but this Custom was also observ’d  
 by all Nations, and by the *Greeks*, so early as in *Homer’s*  
*Days*, as we learn from *Nestor’s* Speech to the *Greek*  
*Commanders*,

Σπουδαί τ’ ἀκητοί, καὶ δεξιοί, ἧς ἐπέπρωμεν.

Homer II.

Which I need not translate, because *Ovid* has almost  
 done it for me.

*Jura, Fides ubi nunc, commissaque dextera dextræ ?*

Ovid.  
 2 *Epist.*

“ *Cyrus*, when you again became sensible of  
 “ your want of power, did not you fly to  
 “ the <sup>103</sup> Altar of *Diana*, profess Repen-  
 “ tance, and having prevail’d with me, give  
 “ me again your Faith, and receive mine ?”  
 This also *Orontas* confess’d. “ What Injury  
 “ then, says *Cyrus*, have I done you, that  
 “ you should now, for the third time, be  
 “ found endeavouring to betray me ?” And,  
 upon *Orontas* saying that he was not pro-  
 vok’d

<sup>103</sup> Επὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος βωμοῦ. *Hutchinson* is  
 of opinion, that this must be the Altar of *Diana* of  
*Ephesus* : which to me seems very probable, for this  
 reason, because that Altar was a very ancient Sanctuary,

*Eustathius* so ancient that *Eustathius*, in his Annotations on *Diony-*  
*on Dionysius* περὶ νῆων, says, the *Amazons* being pursued by  
*Hercules*, and flying to this Altar, were protected by  
 the Religion of it. As the *Persians* worshipp’d the  
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vok'd to it by any Injury, *Cyrus* continued, " You own then you have wrong'd me ?" I am under a necessity of owning it, says *Orontas*. Upon this *Cyrus* ask'd him again, " Can you yet be an Enemy to my Brother, " and a Friend to me ?" Though I should, says *Orontas*, O *Cyrus* ! you will never think me so.

UPON this *Cyrus* said to those who were present, " Such are the Actions of this " Man, and such his Words : " Do you first, *Clearchus* ! deliver your Opinion. Upon which *Clearchus* said thus, " My Advice is " that this Man be forthwith put to death, to " the end that we may no longer be under a " necessity of guarding against his Practices, " but have leisure, being freed <sup>104</sup> from him, " to do good to those who desire to be our " Friends." *Clearchus* said, the rest join'd in this Advice. After this they all rose up, and, together with his Relations, by *Cyrus*

F 3

Order,

<sup>104</sup> Τὸ κατὰ τῶτον εἶναι. This Addition of εἶναι is very common in all the *Attick* Writers. *Herodotus* <sup>Herodotus</sup> has also admitted it into his *Ionick* Stile ; thus he makes <sup>in Poly-</sup> *Damaratus* say to *Xerxes*, Εὐών γε εἶναι ὃδ' αὖ μνο- <sup>hymnia,</sup> *μασχαίνε* : D' *Ablancourt*, I imagine, found some difficulty in this Passage, for he has left it out.

Order, took hold of <sup>105</sup> *Orontas's* Girdle, as a Token of his being condemn'd; upon which he was led out by the proper Officers: And when those, who used to prostrate themselves before him, saw *Orontas* in this Condition, they <sup>106</sup> even then paid him the same Veneration, though they knew he was leading to death. But after he was carried into the Tent of *Artapates*, who was in the greatest Trust with *Cyrus* of any of

Diod. Sic. <sup>105</sup> Ελάβοντο τῆς ζώνης. *Hutchinson* has shew'd, 17 B. from a Passage in *Diodorus Siculus*, in the Affair of *Charidemus*, who was order'd to be put to death by *Darius*, that it was a Custom among the *Persians* to take hold of a Criminal's Girdle when they condemn'd him to die.

Herodotus in Clio. <sup>106</sup> Προσκύουσιν. From hence it appears, that this Custom of Adoration was not only used by Subjects to the Kings of *Persia*, but by Subjects of an inferior Degree to those of a superior: We have the whole Ceremonial in *Herodotus*; if two *Persians* of equal Degree meet, says he, they kiss one another's Mouths; if one of them is something inferior to the other, he kisses his Cheek; if much inferior, he falls down and adores him. When *Alexander*, intoxicated with Success, endeavour'd to prevail with the *Macedonians* to imitate the conquer'd *Persians* in this Servility, *Calisthenes* oppos'd him to his Face with a Spirit becoming both a *Greek* and a *Philosopher*; by what he says to *Alexander* upon that occasion, we find that *Cyrus*, the Founder of the *Persian* Empire, was the first of all Mankind, to whom Adoration was paid, which from thence was look'd upon as a Duty from the *Medes* and *Persians* to his Successors. To this day the *Greeks* call the Compliments they send to one another προσκυνήματα, *Adorations*.

Arrian, 4 Book.

of his Scepter-Bearers <sup>107</sup>, no one from that time ever saw *Orontas* either <sup>108</sup> alive or

F 4

dead,

<sup>107</sup> Σκηπτέχων. Scepters both in the ancient and modern World, are Ensigns of great Dignity. All Authors agree, that Scepters were borne by the Kings of *Persia*; upon this occasion I cannot help translating a fine Sentiment made use of by the first *Cyrus*, (or rather by our Author) in the Speech he makes to his Children; *You are sensible, says he, O Cambyfes! that this Xenophon golden Scepter is not the Support of the Empire, but Instit. of that faithful Friends are the truest and securest Scepter Cyrus, of Kings, οἷσθα μὲν ἔν κ' σὺ, ὃ Καμβύση, ὅτι ἔ τὸδε 8 B.*

τὸ χρυσεὺν σκῆπτρον τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν διασῶζόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οἱ πιστοὶ φίλοι σκῆπτρον βασιλεῦσιν ἀληθές-ατον κ' ἀσφαλές-ατον. This Thought *Sallust* has paraphras'd *Sallust*. in the Speech of *Micipsa*. *Non exercitus, neque Thesauri, Jug. War. prasidia Regni sunt, verum amici.* Homer gives all his *Il. A. Greek Commanders Scepters*; with him a King is Σκηπτῆχ βασιλεύς, which *Milton* has render'd *Milton scepter'd Kings*: By this Passage in *Xenophon* we find, *Par. Lost* that *Persian* Noblemen were also distinguish'd by this <sup>1 B.</sup> Mark of Dignity. However I look upon the Σκηπ-

τῆχοι, or Scepter-Bearers, to have been a kind of Guard attending upon the Persons of the *Persian* Kings, since we find in *Xenophon* that three hundred of them, richly dress'd, attended the first *Cyrus* upon a very solemn occasion, ἐφείποντο οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σκηπτῆχοι κεκοσμημένοι— *Xenophon ἀμφὶ τὴν τριακοσίην.* *D' Ablancourt* has strangely mis- <sup>8 B. Instit.</sup> taken this Passage; he supposes *Artapates* to have been *of Cyrus* one of these, whose Duty it was to carry the Scepter of *Cyrus*; but I don't think it fair to censure him, without quoting his Words, *l'un des plus fideles serviteurs de Cyrus, d'entre ceux qui portoiient son Sceptre.*

<sup>108</sup> Μετὰ ταῦτα ἔτε ζῶντα Ὀρόντην, ἔτε τεθνεῶτα ἰδεῖς πώποτε εἶδεν. *Hutchinson* has left out this Line in his Translation; when I say this, I desire not to be mistaken, I am convinc'd that his leaving it out was owing to some accident; for he is certainly not, like some others, a shy Translator, where he meets with a difficulty,



dead, neither did any one with certainty relate how he was put to death, though various Conjectures were made about it : but no Monument was ever known to be erected for him.

FROM thence he proceeded through the Country of *Babylon*, and in three days march made twelve Parasangas. When they were arrived at the end of the third day's march, *Cyrus* review'd his Forces, both *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, in a Plain about Midnight, (for he expected the King would appear the next Morning, at the Head of his Army, ready to give him Battle) and gave to *Clearchus* the Command of the right Wing, and to *Menon* the *Theſſalian* that of the left, while he himself drew up his own Men. After the Review, and as soon as the Day appear'd, there came Deserters from the great King, who brought *Cyrus* an account of his Army : then *Cyrus*, having called together the Generals and Captains of the *Greeks*, advis'd with them concerning the Order of Battle ; when he encourag'd them by the following Persuasions :  
“ O *Greeks* ! it is not from any want of  
“ *Barbarians*, that I make use of you as  
“ my

“ my Auxiliaries, but, because I look upon  
 “ you as superior to great Numbers of  
 “ them ; for that reason I have taken you  
 “ also into my Service : Shew <sup>109</sup> your-  
 “ selves therefore worthy of that Liberty  
 “ you enjoy, in the possession of which I  
 “ think you extremely happy ; for be <sup>110</sup>,  
 “ assur’d that I would prefer Liberty before  
 “ all things I possess, with the Addition of  
 “ many others. But, that you may under-  
 “ stand

<sup>109</sup> Οπως ὅν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες ἀξιοὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, &c.  
 These Ellipses, as well in Prohibitions, as in Exhortations, are often to be met with in the best Authors, particularly the *Attick* Writers ; in the former *φυλάττω*, or something like it, is to be understood, and in the latter *πειρώ*, or something equivalent to it ; and, as *ὅπως* leads to the Ellipsis in Exhortations, so *μήπως* leads to it in Prohibitions ; a remarkable Instance of which we find in *Homer*, where *Sarpedon* says to *Hector*,

Μήπως ὡς ἀψίσι λίνα ἀλόντε πανάγρον,  
 Ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσιν ἔλωρ καὶ κύρμα γένεσθε, Π. εἶ.

where, by the way, the dual Number is used for the plural, which is not uncommon.

<sup>110</sup> Εὐ γὰρ ἴσῃ ὅτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐλοῖμαι αὐτῷ ὡν ἔχω πάντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλαπλασίον. *Cyrus* with great Judgment expresses himself with so much warmth upon the Subject of Liberty, which he knew to be the reigning Passion of the People to whom he addresses his Discourse. Whether *d’ Ablancourt* found any difficulty in this Sentence, or whether he was afraid of offending the tender Ears of his Monarch with the Harshness of it, I know not ; but so it is, that he has left out every Syllable of this Period.

“ stand what kind of Combat you are go-  
 “ ing to engage in, I shall explain it to  
 “ you : Their Numbers are great, and they  
 “ come on with mighty Shouts, which if  
 “ you can withstand, for the rest I am al-  
 “ most aſham’d to think what kind of Men  
 “ you will find our Country produces. But  
 “ you are <sup>111</sup> Soldiers ; behave yourſelves  
 “ with Bravery, and, if any one of you de-  
 “ ſires to return home, I will take care to  
 “ ſend him back the Envy of his Country ;  
 “ but I am confident that my Behaviour  
 “ will

<sup>111</sup> Ἀνθρώπους· ὑμῶν δὲ Ἀνδρῶν ὄντων. This Opposi-  
 tion between ἄνθρωποι and ἄνδρες, is finely ſupported  
 Herodotus in *Herodotus*, where he ſays, that *Leonidas*, and his  
 in Poly- four thouſand *Greeks*, having repulſ’d the *Persians* in  
 hymnia. ſeveral Attacks at *Thermopylae*, made it plain to all the  
 World, that they were many Men but few Soldiers,  
 δηλον ἐποίησεν—ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι ἔγεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ  
 ἄνδρες : I am apt to think our Author had that Paſſage  
 of *Herodotus* in his Eye upon this occaſion. This Op-  
 poſition is preſerv’d in *Latin* by *homines* & *viri*, of  
 which *Hutchinſon* and *Leunclavius* have very properly  
 taken advantage in rendring this Paſſage : I imagine  
 d’*Ablancourt* thought his Language would not ſupport this  
 diſtinction, for he has left out the whole Paſſage : But  
 I don’t ſee why the Oppoſition which his Language al-  
 lows between *des Hommes* and *des Soldats*, might not  
 have encourag’d him to attempt it. There is a fine  
 Inſtance of that Oppoſition in a very beautiful, tho’  
 a very partial Writer of his Nation, *Father d’Orleans*,  
 where, ſpeaking of the *French Army* at the ever me-  
 morable Battle of *Crecy*, he ſays, *les François avoient*  
*beaucoup de Troupes & point d’armée, grande multitude*  
*d’Hommes & peu de Soldats, des Rois à leur tête, & point*  
*de Chefs.*

“ will engage many of you rather to follow my Fortunes, than return home.”

HERE *Gaulites*, a banish'd *Samian*, a Man of Fidelity to *Cyrus*, being present, spokethus; “ It is said by some, O *Cyrus* ! that you promise many things now, because you are in such imminent Danger, which, upon any Success, you will not remember ; and by others, that, though you should remember your Promises, and desire to perform them, it will not be in your power.” *Cyrus* hearing this, said, “ Gentlemen ! my <sup>112</sup> paternal Kingdom to the South, reaches as far as those Climates that are uninhabitable through Heat, and to the North, as far as those that are so through Cold : Every thing between is under the “ Govern-

<sup>112</sup> Η ἀρχὴ ἡ πατρίς. *Plutarch* has given us the Substance of a most magnificent Letter, written by *Cyrus*, to the *Lacedæmonians*, to desire their Assistance against his Brother ; he there tells them, that, if the Men, they send him, are Foot, he will give them Horses ; if Horsemen, Chariots ; if they have Country Houses, he will give them Villages ; if Villages, Cities ; and that they shall receive their Pay by Measure, not by Talc. Οἷς ἔφη δώσειν, εἰάν μὲν πεζοὶ παρῶσιν, ἵππους· εἰάν δὲ ἱππεῖς, συνωρίδας· εἰάν δὲ ἀγροὺς ἔχωσι, κώμας· εἰάν δὲ κώμας, πόλεις· μισθὸν δὲ τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἢ κεραιθμόν, ἀλλὰ μέτρον ἔσσεσθαι. This Letter seems to be full of the same eastern Fast, with the Speech *Cyrus* makes to the *Greeks* upon this occasion.

“ Government of my Brother’s Friends ;  
“ and, if we conquer, it becomes me to put  
“ you, who are my Friends, in possession  
“ of it ; so that I am under no apprehen-  
“ sion, if we succeed, lest I should not have  
“ enough to bestow on each of my Friends ;  
“ I only fear, lest I should not have Friends  
“ enow, on whom to bestow it. But to  
“ each of you *Greeks*, besides what I have  
“ mention’d, I promise a Crown of Gold.”  
The Officers, hearing these things, espous’d  
his Cause with greater Alacrity, and made  
their Report to the rest. After this the  
*Greek* Generals, and some of the private  
Men came to him to know what they had  
to expect, if they were victorious ; all whom  
he sent away big with hopes : and all who  
were admitted, advis’d him not to engage  
personally, but to stand in the Rear. And  
then it was that *Clearchus* put this Question  
to *Cyrus* ; “ Are you of Opinion, O *Cyrus* !  
“ that your Brother will hazard a Battle ?  
“ Certainly, answer’d *Cyrus* : If he is the  
“ Son of *Darius* and *Parysatis*, and my  
“ Brother, I shall never obtain all this with-  
“ out a stroke.”

WHILE

WHILE the Soldiers were accomplishing themselves for the Action, the number of the *Greeks* was found to amount to ten thousand four hundred <sup>113</sup> heavy-arm'd Men, and two thousand four hundred Targeteers; and that of the *Barbarians* in the Service of *Cyrus*, to one hundred thousand Men, with about twenty <sup>114</sup> Chariots arm'd with Sithes. The Enemy's Army was said to amount to twelve hundred thousand Men, and two hundred Chariots arm'd with Sithes: they had besides six thousand Horse, under the Command. of *Artagerfes*. These were drawn up before the King. The King's Army was commanded by four Generals, Commanders and Leaders, who had each the

<sup>113</sup> Ασπίς. Ασπίς is taken here in the same Sense *Suidas* gives it, ἡ τάξις, that is ἀσπισταί, which is very properly explain'd by the Scholiast upon these Words of *Homer*,

κρατερὰι σίχεις ἀσπιστῶν  
λαῶν,

II. Δ.

by πῆζων, ὀπλιτῶν, heavy-arm'd Men.

<sup>114</sup> Ἀρματα δρεπανηφόρα. *Xenophon*, in his *Cyropaedia*, ascribes the Invention of these Chariots arm'd with Sithes to the first *Cyrus*: though *Diodorus Siculus*, from *Ctesias*, says *Ninus* had great Numbers of them in his Expedition against the *Bactrians*: It is certain they were not in use in the *Trojan War*, for which reason *Arrian*, in his *Tactics*, opposes ἄρματα Τρωϊκὰ to Περσικὰ, as he does ψιλὰ to δρεπανηφόρα.

*Xenop. in Cyropaedia*, αἰσχροῦ πα-  
6 B.  
*Diod. Sic.*  
2 B.  
*Arrian in his Tactics.*

the Command of three hundred thousand Men; these were *Abrocomas*, *Tissaphernes*, *Gobryas*, and *Arbaces*. But of this Number nine hundred thousand only were present at the Battle, together with one hundred and fifty Chariots arm'd with Sithes: For *Abrocomas* coming out of *Phœnicia*, arriv'd five Days after the Action. This was the Account the Deserters gave to *Cyrus* before the Battle, which was afterwards confirm'd by the Prisoners. From thence *Cyrus*, in one day's march, made three Parasangas, all his Forces, both *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, marching in Order of Battle; because he expected the King would fight that day: for in the middle of their March there was a Trench cut five Fathom broad, and three deep. This Trench extended twelve Parasangas upwards, traversing the Plain as far as the Wall of *Media*. In this Plain are the <sup>115</sup> Canals deriv'd from the

<sup>115</sup> Αἱ διώρυχες ἀπὸ τῆ Τίγρητος ποταμῦ ῥέουσαι.  
 Arrian, Arrian differs very much from our Author, in relation to these Canals; he says, that the Level of the  
 7 B. *Tigris* is much lower than that of the *Euphrates*, and  
 ἀνάβασις consequently all the Canals that run from the one to  
 Αλεξάνδρ. the other are deriv'd from the *Euphrates*, and fall into  
 δεξ. the *Tigris*. In this he is supported by *Strabo* and *Pliny*;  
 Strabo, who say, that in the Spring, when the Snows melt upon  
 16 B. the Hills of *Armenia*, the *Euphrates* would over-flow  
 Plin. Nat. Hist. 5 B. the

the River *Tigris* ; they are four in number, each one hundred Feet in breadth, and very deep, and Barges laden with Corn sail in them : These Canals fall into the *Euphrates* ; they are distant from one another one Parasanga, and have Bridges over them.

CLOSE to the *Euphrates*, there was a narrow Pass, between the River and the Trench, about twenty Feet in breadth. This Trench the great King, as soon as he heard *Cyrus* was marching against him, caus'd to be made by way of Fortification ; through this Pass *Cyrus* and his Army march'd, and were now within the Trench. That day the King did not engage, but many Tracks appear'd both of Horses and Men that retreated. Here *Cyrus*, sending for *Silanus*, the Soothsayer of *Ambracia*, gave him three thousand Daricks, because the eleventh Day before that, when he was offering Sacrifice, he told *Cyrus* that the King would not fight within ten Days : Upon which *Cyrus* said, " If he does not fight within ten Days,

" he

the adjacent Country, if the Inhabitants did not cut great numbers of Canals to receive and circulate this Increase of Water, in the same manner as the *Egyptians* distribute that of the *Nile*.



“ he will not fight at all : And, if what you  
 “ say proves true, I’ll give you <sup>116</sup> ten Ta-  
 “ lents ;” which Sum, the ten Days being  
 expir’d, he then paid him. Since therefore  
 the King had suffer’d the Army of *Cyrus* to  
 march through this Pass unmolested, both  
*Cyrus* and the rest concluded that he had  
 given over all Thoughts of fighting : so  
 that the next day *Cyrus* march’d with less  
 Circumspection ; and the third day he rode  
 on his Car, very few marching before him  
 in their Ranks ; great part of the Soldiers  
 observ’d no Order, many \ of their Arms  
 being carried in Waggon, and upon sumpter  
 Horses.

It was now about the time of Day,  
<sup>127</sup> when the Market is usually croud, the  
 Army

<sup>116</sup> Δέκα τάλαντα. By this it appears, as *Hutchinson* has observ’d, that three thousand Daricks, and ten Talents, were of equal Value. See the 11<sup>th</sup> Annotation.

<sup>127</sup> Ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθυσαν. It is very common with the *Greek* Authors to denote the time of the Day by the Employment of it : Thus περὶ λύχνας αἶψας is often used by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* to signify the Evening, and ἀμφὶ πλήθυσαν ἀγορὰν, as *Kuster* has prov’d in his Notes upon *Suidas*, what they called the third Hour, that is, nine a Clock with us. Possibly πλήθυσαν ἀγορὰν may not improperly be render’d in *English* Full Change. There is

Army being near the place, where they propos'd to encamp, when *Patagyas*, a *Persian*, one of those whom *Cyrus* most confided in, was seen riding towards them full speed, his Horse all in a Sweat, and immediately called to every one he met, both in his own Language, and in *Greek*, that the King was at hand with a vast Army, marching in Order of Battle. Upon this there was great Confusion, the *Greeks* and all the rest expecting he would charge them, before they had put themselves in Order : And *Cyrus* leaping from his Car, put on his Cōsslet, then mounting his Horse, took his Javelins in his Hand, and order'd all the rest to arm, and every Man to take his Post : They quickly form'd themselves, *Clearchus* on the right Wing, close to the *Euphrates*, and next to him *Proxenus*, and after him the rest : *Menon* and his Men were posted

a very particular Description of the Evening in the *Odyssey*, where *Ulysses* says he hung upon the wild Fig-Tree, 'till *Charybdis* had cast up his Raft, which appear'd at the time, when the Judge left the Bench, to go to Supper,

— Ἡμῶν δ' ἐπὶ δόρπον ἀνὴρ ἀγορήθεν ἀνέστη, Odyss. M.  
 Κρίνων νείκεα πολλὰ διχάζομένων αἰζηῶν,  
 Τῆμ' οὖν δὴ τάγε δῶρα Χαεῦβδι' ἐξεφάνθη.

posted upon the left of the *Greek Army*. Of the *Barbarians*, a thousand *Paphlagonian* Horse, with the *Greek* Targeteers, stood next to *Clearchus* on the right. Upon the left *Ariæus*, *Cyrus* Lieutenant-General, was plac'd with the rest of the *Barbarians*. *Cyrus* put himself in the Center with six hundred Horse: they had large Corsets, and Cuisses, and all of them Helmets, but *Cyrus*, who stood ready for the Charge, with his Head unarm'd; <sup>118</sup> they say it is also cus-

tomary.

<sup>118</sup> Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸς ἄλλους Πέρσας ψιλᾶς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διακινδυνεύειν. *D'Ablancourt* has left out all this, unless he design'd that *selon la coutume des Perses* should be taken for a Translation of it. I have said that *Cyrus stood ready for the Charge with his Head unarm'd*, and not bare, in which I have differ'd from all the Translators, but am supported by *Brissenius*, who in his third Book *de Regno Persarum*, from whom *Hutchinson* has taken his whole Annotation upon this Passage, is of opinion, which

*Herodotus* he proves from *Herodotus*, that, both *Cyrus*, and the rest of the *Persians*, though they had no Helmets in a *chore* and *Day of Battle*, wore however *Tiaras* upon their Heads. This is confirm'd by *Plutarch*, who says, that in this *Battle the Tiara of Cyrus fell from his Head*. Besides, *ψιλᾶς*, which is the Word our Author uses upon this occasion, has a visible relation to what goes before; after he has said therefore that the six hundred Horse had all Helmets but *Cyrus*, when he adds that he had *ψιλὴν τὴν κεφαλὴν*, he does not mean that he stood with his Head bare, but that he had no Helmet; in the same manner, when *Arrian* calls the light-arm'd Men *ψιλᾶς*, he does not mean that they were naked, but that they had neither Corsets, Shields, Greaves,

or

tomary for the rest of the *Persians* to expose themselves in a day of Action in the same manner: All the Horses in *Cyrus* Army had both Frontlets and Breast-plates, and the Horsemen *Greek* Swords.

It was now the middle of the Day, and no Enemy was yet to be seen. <sup>119</sup> In the Afternoon there appear'd a Dust like a white Cloud, which not long after spread itself like a Darkness over the Plain; when they drew nearer, immediately the brazen Armour flash'd, and their Spears and Ranks appear'd: The Enemy had on their left a Body of Horse arm'd in white Corslets (these were said to be commanded by *Tissaphernes*) next came those with <sup>120</sup> *Persian* Bucklers, and or Helmets, which the Reader will see in his own Words in the 5<sup>th</sup> Annotation.

<sup>119</sup> Ησία δὲ δαίλη ἐγένετο. *Hutchinson* quotes upon this occasion a Passage out of *Dio Chrysostomus*, in which he divides the Day into five parts; 1. πρωί. 2. πλήθυσαν ἀγοράν. 3. τὰς μεσημβρίας. 4. δαίλην. 5. ἑσπέραν; this Division of the Day perfectly agrees with that of *Xenophon*; and, as πλήθυσαν ἀγοράν is the middle Hour between the Morning and Noon, so δαίλη will be the middle Hour between that and the Evening, that is, three a-clock.

<sup>120</sup> Γερρόφοροι. Περσικὰ μὲν τινα ὄπλα τὰ γέρρα ἑστῖ. *Harpocration*. This kind of Buckler is also mention'd by *Homer* in the following Verse,

and next to them heavy-arm'd Men with wooden Shields, reaching down to their Feet; (these were said to be *Egyptians*;) then other Horse, and other Archers. All these marched <sup>121</sup> according to their respective Countries, each Nation being drawn up in a <sup>122</sup> solid oblong Square: And before them were dispos'd the Chariots arm'd with Sithes, at a considerable distance from one another. These Chariots had Sithes fix'd asslant at the Axle-Trees, with others under the <sup>123</sup> Body of the Chariot, pointing

Homer Τῇ δ' ἐτέρῃ σάκος εὐρύ, γέρον πεπαλαγμένον ἄζη. .  
Odyss. χ.

where *Eustathius* explains Γέρρα by ἀσπίδες. Περσικαὶ ἐκ λόγων, *Persian* Bucklers made of Wickers.

Herodotus <sup>121</sup> Κατὰ ἔθνη. This seems to have been customary  
in Poly- among the *Persians*; for we find in *Herodotus*, that, in  
hymnia. the prodigious Army, with which *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, each Nation was drawn up by itself, κατὰ ἔθνηα διετάσσοντο.

<sup>122</sup> Εὐ πλαίσίῳ. As πλαίσιον and πλινθίον are Dispositions often mention'd by *Xenophon*, and other *Greek* Authors, it may not be amiss to shew the difference between them. They are thus defin'd by *Arrian* in his *Tactics*, πλαίσιον ὀνομάζεται, ὅποτεν πρὸς πάσας τὰς πλευρὰς παρατάξῃται τις ἐν ἐτερομήκει σχήματι πλινθίον δὲ, ὅταν ἐν τετραγώνῳ σχήματι αὐτὸ τῷτο πράξῃ, (rather πραχθῇ;) so that πλαίσιον is an oblong Square, and πλινθίον an equilateral Square: Had d' *Abblancourt* attended to this, he would not have translated ἐν πλαισίῳ, avec autant de Front que de Hauteur.

<sup>123</sup> Ὑπὸ τοῖς δίφοροις. The Grammarians derive δίφορος from δίφορος, because both the ἡνίοχος, the Charioteer,

pointing downwards, that so they might cut asunder every thing they encounter'd. The Design of these Chariots was, by driving them among the Ranks of the *Greeks*, to break them. It now appear'd that *Cyrus*, when he exhorted the *Greeks* to withstand the Shouts of the *Barbarians*, was mistaken; for they did not come on with Shouts, but as silently and quietly as possible, and in an equal and slow march. Here *Cyrus*, riding along the Ranks with *Pigres* the Interpreter, and three or four others, called to *Clearchus* to bring his Men over-against the Center of the Enemy, because the King was there: And if we break that, says he, our Work is done. But *Clearchus* observing their Center, and understanding from *Cyrus* that the King was beyond the left Wing of the *Greek Army*, (for the King was so much superior in number, that, when he stood in the Center of his own Army, he was beyond the left Wing of that of *Cyrus*) *Clearchus*, I say, would not however be prevail'd on to withdraw his right from the River, fearing to be surrounded

## G 3

on

Charioteer, and the *παράβιτης*, the Soldier, sat in the body of the Chariot. This Hint may be of use to History-Painters, who oftentimes place the Charioteer upon a Seat by himself, in the modern way.

on both sides; but answer'd *Cyrus*, He would take care that all should go well.

Now the *Barbarians* came regularly on; and the *Greek Army* standing on the same Ground, the Ranks were form'd, as the Men came up. In the mean time *Cyrus*, riding at a small distance before the Ranks, survey'd both the Enemy's Army and his own: Whom *Xenophon*, an *Athenian*, observing from the *Greek Army*, he rode up to him, and ask'd him, whether he had any thing to command; *Cyrus*, stopping his Horse, order'd him to let them all know, that the <sup>124</sup> Sacrifices and Victims promis'd success. While he was saying this, he heard a Noise running through the Ranks, and ask'd him what Noise it was: *Xenophon* answer'd, that the Word was now giving for the second time; *Cyrus* wonder'd who should give it, and ask'd him what the Word was; the other replied, <sup>125</sup> *Jupiter the Preserver*, and  
*Victory*:

<sup>124</sup> Τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ σφάγια. The last of these properly signifies Victims, though I am sensible the first is sometimes taken also for ἱερεῖα; but in this place I should rather think it means some religious Rites, upon which Conjectures were form'd of future Events.

Dion Cass- <sup>125</sup> Ζεὺς Σωτὴρ καὶ Νίκη. *Dion Cassius* tells us, that  
 sius, 47 B. at the Battle of *Philippi*, *Brutus* Word was Ἐλευθερία,  
*Libertas*.

*Victory* : Which *Cyrus* hearing, said, I accept it, let That be the Word. After he had said this, he return'd to his Post. The two Armies were now within three or four Stadia of each other, when <sup>126</sup> the *Greeks* sung the Pæan, and began to advance against the Enemy : As this Motion occasion'd a small <sup>127</sup> Fluctuation in the Line of Battle, those who were left behind, hasten'd their march, and at once they gave a general <sup>128</sup> Shout, as their Custom is when they invoke the God of War, and all ran on. Some say they struck their Shields with their Pikes to frighten the Enemy's Horses, But

G 4

the

*Libertas* ; at the Battle of *Pharsalia*, *Cæsar's* Word was *Αφροδίτη νικήτατα*, *Venus victrix* ; and that of *Pompey*, *Ηρακλῆς ἀνίκητος*, *Hercules invictus*.

<sup>126</sup> *Επαιάνιζον οἱ Ἕλληες*. *Achilles*, after he has slain *Heëtor*, says thus to his Men, in *Homer*,

Νῦν δ' ἄγ' αἰδούτες Παιήονα, κῦροι Ἀχαιῶν,  
Νηῦσιν ἐπὶ γλαφυρῇσι νεώμεθα——

*Homer*  
II. χ.

Upon which the *Greek* Scholiast observes, that, the Ancients sung two Pæans ; the first before the Battle, to *Mars* ; and the second after it, to *Apollo*.

<sup>127</sup> *Εξεκύμαινέ τι τῆς φάλαγος*. This Expression is celebrated by *Demetrius Phalareus*, as an Instance of the Beauty which Metaphors give, when they descend from greater things to smaller. Sect. 85.

<sup>128</sup> *Ελελίζουσι*. *Ελελεῦ*, ἐπιφώνημα πολεμικόν. *Hesychius*. From thence comes *ελελίζω*. I am at a loss to guess what *d'Ablancourt* means by translating this, *comme on fait dans les solennitez de Mars*.



the *Barbarians*, before they came within the reach of their Darts, turn'd their Horses and fled, and the *Greeks* pursued them as fast as they could, calling out to one another not to run, but to follow in their Ranks. Here some of the Chariots were born through their own People without their Charioteers, others through the *Greeks*, some of whom seeing them coming, <sup>129</sup> divided; while others being amaz'd, like Spectators

<sup>129</sup> Οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ προΐδουσιν, ἑαυτοῖς. *Hutchinson* has employed his whole Annotation upon this Passage, in shewing, that οἱ δὲ in this place signifies τινες, which to be sure is so; but he has said nothing of a much greater difficulty that occurs in it: If we are to read ἑαυτοῖς in this place, as all the Translators have render'd it, the Sense will be, that, when the *Greeks* saw the Chariots coming towards them, they stood still, which sure was not the way to avoid them. I find in *Leunclavius* Edition the word δις-αυτοῖς in the Margin, and also in the *Eton* Manuscript, quoted by *Hutchinson* in his Addenda, though neither of them have followed it in their Translations, or said any thing to support it: However, I make no doubt but this is the proper Reading, and then the Sense will be very plain; the *Greeks* avoided the Chariots, by dividing. This is confirm'd by a Passage in *Arrian*, which fully explains that before us. At the Battle of *Arbela*, or, as he will <sup>3 B.</sup> *Exp. Alex.* have it, of *Gaugamela*, *Darius* had plac'd before his left Wing one hundred of these Chariots arm'd with Sithes, which prov'd of no greater effect than those of *Artaxerxes*; for *Alexander*, who was upon the right of his own Army, and consequently opposite to the Chariots, had order'd his Men to divide, when they saw them coming, which they did accordingly, and by

Spectators in the <sup>130</sup> Hippodrome, were taken unawares; but even these were reported to have received no harm, neither was there any other *Greek* hurt in the Action, except one upon the left Wing, who was said to have been wounded by an Arrow.

*CYRUS* seeing the *Greeks* victorious on their side, and in pursuit of the Enemy, rejoic'd, and was already worshipp'd as King by those about him; however, he was not so far transported as to leave his Post, and join in the Pursuit; but, keeping his six hundred Horse in a Body, he observ'd the King's Motions; well knowing that he was in

by that means render'd them ineffectual. But the Words of *Arrian* are the best Comment upon this Passage, which it is probable he had in view, ἔς, δὲ αὐτῷ διεξέπεσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων. διέσχον γὰρ, ὥσπερ παρήγγελλτο αὐτοῖς, ἵνα προσέπιπτε τὰ ἄρματα.

<sup>130</sup> Εὐ ἵπποδρόμῳ. This Word is used also by *Homer*, to signify the Place where the Chariots ran, the Lists.

— λεῖψεν δ' ἵπποδρόμου ἀμφίς.

II. ↓.

At the Battle of *Thurium*, where *Sylla* defeated *Archelamus*, one of the Generals of *Mithridates*, the Roman Soldiers treated these Chariots arm'd with Sithes, with so great Contempt, that, after the first that were sent against them had prov'd ineffectual, as if they had been Spectators of a Chariot-Race, they called out for more, ἀλλὰ ἤτων, as *Plutarch* says, ὥσπερ ἐώθασιν ἐν ταῖς θεατρικαῖς ἵπποδρομίαις. Plutarch  
in Sylla.

in the Center of the *Persian* Army : <sup>131</sup> for in all *Barbarian* Armies, the Generals ever place themselves in the Center, looking upon that Post as the safest, on each side of which their Strength is equally divided, and, if they have occasion to give out any Orders, these are receiv'd in half the time by the Army. The King therefore being at that time in the Center of his own Battle, was however beyond the left Wing of *Cyrus*; and, when he saw none oppos'd him in front, nor any Motion made to charge the Troops that were drawn up before him, he wheel'd to the left, in order to surround their Army. Upon this *Cyrus*, fearing he should get behind him, and cut off the *Greeks*, advanc'd against the King, and charging with his six hundred Horse, broke those who were drawn up before him, put the six thousand Men to flight, and, as they say, killed with his own Hand *Artagerfes* their Commander.

THESE

<sup>131</sup> Καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ τῶν Βαρβάρων ἄρχοντες μέσσην ἔχοντες τὸ αὐτῶν ἡγῶντο. Thus *Arrian* tells us, that *Darius* plac'd himself in the Center of his Army at the Battle of *Iffus*, according to the Custom of the Kings of *Persia*; the reason of which Custom, he says, *Xenophon* assigns in the Passage now before us.

*Arrian* 2  
*B. Exp.*  
*Alex.*

THESE being broken, the six hundred also belonging to *Cyrus* dispers'd themselves in the Pursuit, very few being left about him, and those almost all Persons who used to eat at his Table ; being accompanied with these, he <sup>132</sup> discovers the King, and those about him, and, unable to contain himself, immediately cried out, I see the Man ; then ran furiously at him, and, striking him on the Breast, wounded him through his Corslet, as *Ctesias* the Physician says, who affirms that he cur'd the Wound. While he was giving the Blow, somebody threw a Javelin at him with great force, and wounded him

under

<sup>132</sup> I cannot help translating a very fine Passage in *Plutarch* in his Life of *Artaxerxes*, where he excuses himself for not entering into the Detail of this Battle, because *Xenophon* had already describ'd it in so masterly a Stile, that he thinks it folly to attempt it after him ; he says, that many Authors have given an Account of this memorable Action, but that *Xenophon* almost shews it, and, by the Clearness of his Expression, makes his Reader assist with Emotion at every Incident, and partake of every Danger, as if the Action was not past, but present : However, that I may neither rob *Xenophon* of the Praise *Plutarch* gives him, or *Plutarch* of his manner of giving it, I shall transcribe the whole Passage, τὴν δὲ μάχην ἐκείνην, says *Plutarch*, πολλῶν μὲν ἀπληγελότων, Ξενοφῶντος δὲ μονομηχί δεικνύοντος ὄψει, καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὡς ἔγεγεννημένοις, ἀλλὰ γινόμενοις, ἐφίσταντος τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἐν πάθει, καὶ συλλυμνέοντά, διὰ τὴν εὐάργειαν, ἣκ ἔστι νῦν ἔχοντος ἐπεξηγησθαι, πλὴν ὅσα τῶν ἀξίων λόγου. The same Author calls the Place where this Battle was fought *Cunaxa*.

under the Eye: and now the King and *Cyrus* engag'd hand to hand, and those about them, in defence of each. In this Action *Ctesias*, (who was with the King) informs us how many fell on his side; on the other, *Cyrus* himself was killed, and eight the most considerable of his Friends <sup>133</sup> lay dead upon him. When *Artapates*, who was in the greatest Trust with him of any of his scepter'd Ministers, saw *Cyrus* fall, they say, he leapt from his Horse, and threw himself about him: some say, the King order'd *Artapates* to be slain upon the Body of *Cyrus*; others, that, drawing his Scimitar, he slew himself: for, he wore a golden Scimitar, a Chain, Bracelets, and other Ornaments, which are worn by the most considerable *Persians*; and was held in great esteem by *Cyrus*, both for his Affection and Fidelity.

THUS died *Cyrus*, a Man universally acknowledged by those who were well acquainted

<sup>133</sup> ΕΧΕΙΝΤΟ ΕΝ' ΑΥΤΩ. I am so much pleas'd with the reason *d'Ablancourt* gives for not translating these Words, that I must mention it; he says *le Grec dit, qui se firent tous tuer sur lui, mais cela est répété ensuite dans son Eloge, & j'avois besoin de cette Expression là dix lignes après.* There is a Frankness in this Acknowledgement that has more merit in it, than the best Translation.

quainted with him, to have been, of all the *Persians* since the ancient *Cyrus*, indued with the most princely Qualities, and the most worthy of Empire. First, while he was yet a Child, and educated with his Brother, and other Children, he was look'd upon as superior to them All in all things: For all the Children of the great Men in *Persia* are brought up <sup>134</sup> at Court, where they have an opportunity of learning great Modesty, and where nothing dishonest is ever heard or seen. There the Children have constantly before their Eyes, those who are honour'd and disgrac'd by the King, and hear the Reasons of both: So that, while they are Children, they presently learn to command, as well as to obey. Here *Cyrus* was observ'd to have more Docility than any of his Years, and to shew more Submission to those of an advanc'd Age, than any other Children, though of a Condition inferior to his own; he was also observ'd to excel not only in his Love of Horses, but in his Management of them; and in those Exercises that relate to War, such as Archery and lancing of Darts, they found

<sup>134</sup> *Εν ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις παιδεύονται.* Litterally at the Door of the King, concerning which, see the 29<sup>th</sup> Annotation.

found him the most desirous to learn, and the most indefatigable. When in the Flower of his Age ; he was, of all others, the fondest of Hunting, and in hunting, of Danger : And once, when a Bear rush'd upon him, he did not decline the Encounter, but clos'd with her, and was torn from his Horse, when he receiv'd those Wounds, of which he ever after wore the Scars ; at last he kill'd the Bear, and the Person, who first ran to his assistance, he made a happy Man in the eyes of all that knew him.

WHEN he was sent by his Father Governour of *Lydia*, the greater *Phrygia*, and *Cappadocia*, and was declar'd General of all those who are oblig'd to assemble in the Plain of *Castolus*, the first thing he did was to shew, that, if he enter'd into a League, engag'd in a Contract, or made a Promise, his greatest Care was never to deceive. For which reason both the Cities that belong'd to his Government, and private Men, plac'd a Confidence in him : And, if any one had been his Enemy, and *Cyrus* had made Peace with him, he was under no apprehension of suffering by a Violation of it : So that, when he made war against *Tissaphernes*, all

the Cities, besides *Miletus*, willingly declar'd for him : And these were afraid of him, because he would not desert their banish'd Citizens ; for he shewed by his Actions, as well as his Words, that, after he had once given them assurance of his Friendship, he would never abandon them, though their Number should yet diminish, and their Condition be yet impair'd. It was evident that he made it his endeavour to out-do his Friends in good, and his Enemies in ill Offices ; and it was reported that he wish'd to live so long, as to be able to overcome them both, in <sup>135</sup> returning both. There was no one Man therefore of our Time, to whom such numbers of People were ambitious of delivering up their Fortunes, their Cities, and their Persons.

NEITHER can it be said that he suffer'd Malefactors and Robbers to triumph ;  
for

<sup>135</sup> Αλεξόμεν. It is to be observ'd that ἀλέξασθαι, in this place, signifies both to reward and to revenge: both which Significations this Word admits of. Αλέξεις, βοήθεια καὶ ἀντίτισις. *Hesychius*. Αμύνεσθαι is used in the same manner by *Thucydides*, where *Hermocrates* of *Syracuse* <sup>Thucy.</sup> tells the Inhabitants of *Sicily*, τὸν εἶ κακῶς δρῶντα <sup>dides 4 B.</sup> εἰς αὐτὴν ἀρετῇ ἀμυνόμεθα, where ἀμυνόμεθα is thus explain'd by the *Greek* Scholiast, ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ τῶν δύο σημασιῶν ἔλαβεν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ καλῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ κακῷ.



for to these he was, of all Men, the most inexorable : It was no uncommon thing to see such Men in the great Roads depriv'd of their Feet, their Hands, and their Eyes ; so that any Person, whether *Greek* or *Barbarian*, might travel whithersoever he pleas'd, and with whatsoever he pleas'd, through the Country under his Command, and provided he did no Injury, be sure of receiving none. It is universally acknowledged that he honour'd, in a particular manner, those who distinguish'd themselves in Arms : His first Expedition was against the *Pisidians* and *Myrians* ; in this he commanded in Person, and those whom he observ'd forward to expose themselves, he appointed Governours over the conquer'd Countries, and distinguish'd them by other Presents : So that <sup>136</sup> brave Men were look'd upon as most fortunate, and Cowards as deserving to be their Slaves : for which reason great numbers presented themselves to danger, where they

<sup>136</sup> Ως φαίνοσθαι τὰς μὲν ἀγαθὰς, εὐδαιμονεστέας, τὰς δὲ καυὰς, δόλους τέτων ἀξιῶσθαι. *D'Abblancourt* has not taken the least notice of these Lines in his Translation ; if the Reader will give himself the trouble of comparing his Version with the Original in this Character of *Cyrus*, he will find very many Omissions, as well as strange Liberties.

they expected *Cyrus* would take notice of them.

As for Justice, if any Person was remarkable for a particular regard to it, his chief care was that such a one should enjoy a greater Affluence than those, who aim'd at raising their Fortunes by unjust means. Among many other Instances therefore of the Justice of his Administration, this was one, that he had an Army which truly deserved that Name, for the Officers did not come to him from Countries on the other side of the Sea, for Gain, but, because they were sensible that a ready Obedience to *Cyrus* Commands was of greater Advantage to them, than their monthly Pay : And indeed, if any one was punctual in the execution of his Orders, he never suffer'd his Diligence to go unrewarded. For this reason, it is said that *Cyrus* was the best serv'd of any Prince in all his Enterprizes. If he observ'd any Governour of a Province joining the most exact Oeconomy with Justice, improving his Country, and encreasing his Revenue, he never took any share of these Advantages to himself, but added more to them. So that they labour'd

with Chearfulness, enrich'd themselves with Confidence, and never conceal'd their Possessions from *Cyrus*: For he was never known to envy those who own'd themselves to be rich ; but endeavour'd to make use of the Riches of all who conceal'd them. It is universally acknowledged, that he possess'd, in an eminent degree, the Art of cultivating those of his Friends, whose Good-will to him he was assur'd of, and whom he look'd upon as proper Instruments to assist him in accomplishing any thing he propos'd: And, as he thought he stood in need of his Friends to assist him in the execution of his Designs, for that reason, he endeavour'd to shew himself a most powerful Assistant to them in every thing he found they desired.

As, upon many accounts, he receiv'd, in my opinion, more Presents than any one Man, so, of all Men living, he distributed them to his Friends, with the greatest Generosity, and in this Distribution consulted both the Taste, and the Wants of every one. And, as for those Ornaments of his Person that were presented to him, either as of use in War, or Embellishments to Dress, he is  
said

said to have express'd this Sense of them, that it was not possible for him to wear them all, but that he look'd upon a Prince's Friends, when richly dress'd, as his greatest Ornament. However, it is not so much to be wonder'd at, that, being of greater Ability than his Friends, he should out-do them in the Magnificence of his Favours; but, that he should surpass them in his Care and his Earnestness to oblige, is, in my opinion, more worthy of Admiration. For *Cyrus* frequently sent his Friends small<sup>117</sup> Vessels half full of Wine, when he received any that was remarkably good, letting them know, that he had not for a long time tasted any that was more delicious; for which reason he sends it to you, and desires you will drink it out to-day, with those you love best. He also frequently sent them half Geese, and half Loaves, and such other things, ordering the Person who carried them to say, *Cyrus* lik'd these things, for this reason he desires you also to taste of them. Where Forage was very scarce, and he, by the Number and Care of his Servants, had an opportunity of being supplied

H 2

with

<sup>117</sup> Βίβαρ. Βίβη, σάμνῳ ὡτα ἔχων. *Hesychius*.  
It was a Wine Vessel.

with it, he sent to his Friends, to desire they would give the Horses, that were for their own riding, their share of it, to the end they might not be oppress'd with Hunger, when they carried his Friends. When he appear'd in publick upon any occasion, where he knew many People would have their Eyes upon him, he used to call his Friends to him, and affected to discourse<sup>138</sup> earnestly with them, that he might shew whom he honour'd. So that by all I have heard, no Man, either of the *Greeks* or *Barbarians*,

<sup>138</sup> Εσπυδασιολογείτο. *Hutchinson* has render'd this *gravibus de rebus sermonem habebat*, which is, no doubt, the general Sense of the *Greek* Word, but does not, in my Opinion, explain that which our Author has given it in this place. The Subject of the Discourse between *Cyrus* and his Friends, was of little consequence to let the Spectators know how much he honour'd them, his manner of conversing with them could only do that; and, as σπυδή signifies Earnestness in the manner of speaking, as well as the Seriousness of the Subject, I thought proper to give it that Sense in the Translation. This puts me in mind of a practice of some Persons of Quality in *Scotland*, when King *Charles* the First made a Progress thither; my Lord *Clarendon* says, that, in order to render themselves considerable in the Eyes of their Countrymen, they used to whisper the King, when he appear'd in Publick, though the Subject of those Whispers was often of very little consequence. I have known some Men of Gallantry so happy in this practice, that, upon no other foundation than the Art of whispering Trifles, they have been thought to be well with Women of Distinction, which possibly was all they aim'd at.

*barians*, was ever more belov'd: Of which this, among others, is a remarkable Instance: No one ever deserted from *Cyrus*, though a Subject, to the King; *Orontas* alone attempted it, <sup>139</sup> and he soon found, that the Person on whose Fidelity he depended, was more a Friend to *Cyrus* than to him. But many came over to *Cyrus* from the King, after the War broke out between them, and these were Persons who had been most in favour with him, and who came with this Expectation, that in the Service of *Cyrus* their Merit would be more worthily rewarded than in that of the King. What happen'd also to him at his Death, made it evident, that he was not only himself a good Man, but that he knew how to make choice of those, who were faithful, affectionate, and constant: for, when he was killed, all his Friends and his <sup>140</sup> Favourites died fighting for him, besides *Ariaeus*, and he being appointed to the Command of the

H 3

Horse

<sup>139</sup> ΟΥΤΩ ΔΕ, &c. The *Latin* Translators have render'd this Parenthesis, as if ὅτι related to the King, for which I think there is no foundation: I have understood it of *Orontas*, who entrusted a Person, in whom he thought he might confide, with his Letter to the King, but soon found to his Cost, that he was more attach'd to *Cyrus*, than to him.

<sup>140</sup> Συτράπεζοι. Properly those who eat at his Table.

Horse on the left Wing, as soon as he heard that *Cyrus* was kill'd, fled with all that Body which was under his Command.

WHEN *Cyrus* was dead, his Head and right Hand were cut off upon the spot, and the King, with his Men, in the Pursuit, broke into his Camp; while those with *Artabazus*, no longer made a stand, but fled through their own Camp to their former Post, which was said to be four Parangas from the Field of Battle. The King, with his Forces, among many other things, took *Cyrus* Mistress, a <sup>141</sup> *Phocæan*, who

was

Plutarch,  
*Lives of*  
Pericles  
and Artaxerxes.

<sup>141</sup> Τὴν Φωκαίδα. As this favourite Mistress of *Cyrus* was afterwards very near being the Cause of a Revolution in the *Persian* Empire, it may not be amiss to give some Account of her. She was of *Phocæa* in *Ionia*, (the Mother-City of *Marseilles*,) and the Daughter of *Hermotymus*, her Name *Milto*; she was Mistress of so much Wit and Beauty, that *Cyrus*, who was very fond of her, called her *Aspasie*, from *Aspasia*, the Mistress of the great *Pericles*, who was so much celebrated for those Accomplishments. After the Death of *Cyrus*, she was in the same degree of favour with his Brother *Artaxerxes*, whose eldest Son *Darius* had so unfortunate a Passion for her, that, upon his being declar'd by his Father Successor to the Crown, when, it seems, it was customary for the Successor to ask some Favour of the King, which was never refus'd, if possible to be granted, he demanded *Aspasia*: The King, though besides his Wife *Atossa*, he had three hundred and sixty Ladies in his Seraglio, one for every Night, according to the old *Babylonian* Year, yet was unwilling

was said to be a Woman of great Sense and Beauty. The other, a *Milesian*, who was the younger of the two, was also taken by the King's Troops, but escap'd naked to the Quarter of the *Greeks*, who were left to guard the Baggage. These, forming themselves, kill'd many of those who were plundering the Camp, and lost some of their own Men; however, they did not fly, but sav'd the *Milesian*, with the Men and Effects, and, in general, every thing else that was in their Quarter. By this time

H 4

the

to part with *Aspasia*, though she was now far from being young; so told his Son that she was Mistress of herself, and, if she consented to be his, he should not oppose it, but forbid him to use Violence. It seems this Caution was unnecessary, for *Aspasia* declar'd in favour of the Son, which so displeas'd *Artaxerxes*, that, though he was under a necessity of yielding her to *Darius*, yet he shortly after took her from him, and made her a Priestess of *Diana*. This exasperated *Darius* to that Plutarch degree, that he conspir'd with *Tiribazus* to put his in Artaxerxes. Father to death; but his Design, being discover'd, ended in his own Destruction. After this short Account of *Aspasia's* Adventures, I believe the Reader will smile to find her call'd *la Belle* and *la Sage* by *d'Ablancourt*: She was the occasion of so much mischief, that I am persuaded even the *Persian* Ladies could not refuse her the first of these Qualities; but there is little room to call her *chaste*, for that is the Sense of the word *Sage* in his Language when applied to a Woman: Had *Xenophon* design'd to give her that Character, he would have called her *σωφρονα*, instead of *σοφην*: the last of which I should think might be more properly translated in *French* by *Sensée* than *Sage*.



the King and the *Greeks* were at the distance of about thirty Stadia from one another, these pursuing the Enemy that were opposite to them, as if they had gain'd a compleat Victory ; and the King's Troops plundering the Camp of the *Greeks*, as if they also had been every where victorious. But, when the *Greeks* were inform'd, that the King, with his Men, was among their Baggage, and the King, on his side, heard from *Tissaphernes*, that the *Greeks* had put those before them to flight, and were gone forward in the Pursuit, he then rallied his Forces, and put them in order. On the other side, *Clearchus* consulted with *Proxenus*, who was nearest to him, whether they should send a Detachment, or should all march to relieve the Camp.

IN the mean time the King was observ'd to move forward again, and seem'd resolv'd to fall upon their Rear ; upon which the *Greeks*<sup>142</sup> faced about, and put themselves in

a

<sup>142</sup> Συσπαφέντες. I am sorry I find myself oblig'd to differ from *Hutchinson* in translating this. I agree with him that *conglobati*, the Sense he has given of it, is the general Sense of the Word, as he has prov'd from *Hesychius* and *Phavorinus* ; as for those synonymous Words he has quoted from *Julius Pollux*, I do not  
look

a posture to march that way, and receive him. However, the King did not advance that way: But, as before, he pass'd <sup>143</sup> beyond their

look upon them to concern the present case, since they relate only to the Contraction of the human Body, as the Title of that Chapter plainly shews, *Περὶ τῆς συσ-τρέψαι τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἀπλῶσαι.* But, in order to form a right Judgment of the Sense of this Word in this place, we are to consider the Situation of the two Armies; the *Greeks*, after they had broken that part of the Enemy's Army that stood opposite to them, were engag'd in pursuing them; and the King, having plunder'd *Cyrus* Camp, followed the *Greeks*, in order to fall upon their Rear, *προσιὼν ὀπισθεν*; these, seeing this Motion of the King, fac'd about to meet him. Now I believe it will be allowed, that it was not enough for the *Greeks* (though they had been dispers'd, which we do not find) to get together in a body, in order to meet the King, who was following them; I say, I believe it will be thought that it was also necessary for them to face about, in order to put themselves in a proper Posture to receive him. This Motion of facing about to receive the Enemy, is often described by this Verse in *Homer*,

Οἱ δ' ἐλελίχθησαν, καὶ εὐαντίοι ἔσαν ἀχαιῶν.

Homer II.

Which the *Greek* Scholiast explains by the very Word made use of by our Author in this place. *συνεστράφησαν, μεταβαλλόμενοι εἰλήθησαν.* It is with pleasure I lay hold of this opportunity of doing justice to d' *Ab-lancourt*, who has said, I think, in a very proper and military manner, *les Grecs firent la Conversion pour l'aller recevoir*; cela s'appelle parler guerre. *Leunclavius* has also given it the same Sense.

<sup>143</sup> Η δὲ παρεῖλθεν ἔξω τῷ εὐωνύμῳ κέρατῳ. *Xenophon* considers the *Greek* Army as it stood when the Battle began, otherwise after they had fac'd about, their left Wing was become their right. This d' *Ab-lancourt* has observ'd, but *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson* take no notice of it.

their left Wing, so now he led his Men back the same way, taking along with him those who had deserted to the *Greeks* during the Action, and also *Tissaphernes* with his Forces: for *Tissaphernes* did not fly at the first Onset, but penetrated with his Horse, where the *Greek* Targeteers were posted, quite as far as the River: However, in breaking through, he killed none of their Men, but the *Greeks* <sup>144</sup> dividing, wounded his People both with their Swords and Darts. *Episthenes* of *Amphipolis* commanded the Targeteers, and is reported to have shewn great Conduct upon this occasion. *Tissaphernes* therefore, as sensible of his Disadvantage, departed, then, coming to the Camp of the *Greeks*, he found the King there, and reuniting their Forces, they advanc'd. When they came opposite to the left of the *Greeks*, these were afraid they should attack their Wing, and, by wheeling to the right and left, annoy them on both sides; to avoid which, they resolv'd to open that Wing, and cover the Rear with the River. While they

<sup>144</sup> Διασώτες. This is the Word contended for in the 129<sup>th</sup> Annotation. The Motion made by the *Greeks* to let *Tissaphernes* and his Men pass through their Body upon this occasion, is the same they then made to let the Chariots pass through them.

they were consulting upon this, the King  
 145 march'd by them, and drew up his Army  
 opposite to theirs, in the same Order in which  
 he first engag'd. When the *Greeks* saw  
 them draw near in Order of Battle, they  
 again sung the Pæan, and went on with  
 much more Alacrity than before. How-  
 ever, the *Barbarians* did not stay to receive  
 them, but fled sooner than the first time :  
 and the *Greeks* pursued them to a Village,  
 There they halted ; for there was an Emi-  
 nence above the Village, upon which the  
 King's Forces fac'd about. He had no Foot  
 with

149 Παραμειψάμεντες, εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα κατέσ-  
 τησεν ἐναντίαν τὴν Φάλαγγα, ὥσπερ, &c. I have trans-  
 lated this Passage, as if there was a Comma after  
 παραμειψάμεντες, which I have render'd *marching by*  
*them*, a Signification very common to the Word ; for  
*Xenophon* does not say that the *Greeks* did actually  
 open their Wing ; but that, while they were consult-  
 ing about doing so, the King drew up his Army against  
 theirs, upon which the *Greeks* advanc'd to attack him ;  
 this I do not understand how they could well do,  
 while the Enemy was upon their Flank ; but, if we  
 suppose the King march'd by them, and drew up upon  
 the same Ground, and in the same Disposition in which  
 he first came on, we may easily understand how the  
*Greeks*, by facing about again, might put themselves  
 again in a Posture to attack him : And this seems to  
 agree very well with their pursuing the King's Troops  
 to a Village, which Pursuit led them to some distance  
 from their Camp, since they made it a matter of Con-  
 sultation whether they should send for their Baggage,  
 or return thither.

with him, but the Hill was cover'd with Horfe in fuch a manner, that it was not poffible for the *Greeks* to fee what was doing: However, they faid they faw the royal Enfign there, which was a <sup>146</sup> golden Eagle with its

<sup>146</sup> Αετόν τινα χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ ξυστῇ ἀνατεταμένον. I think *Hutchinson* has been very happy in fubftituting ξυστῇ to ξύλα, but then I do not fee what ἐπὶ πέλτης has to do here, unlefs it is fuppos'd to fignify a Shield upon which the Eagle refted; however, I cannot think *Xenophon* faid αετόν ἐπὶ πέλτης, ἐπὶ ξυστῇ ἀνατεταμένον, and, if ἐπὶ πέλτης is to be chang'd into ἐπὶ παλτῇ, as *Leunclavius* will have it, it will then be vifibly a marginal

*Xenophon* Explanation of ἐπὶ ξυστῇ. *Xenophon*, in his *Institution* ἐν Κύρου of *Cyrus*, tells us, that the Enfign of the firft *Cyrus* παιδεία. was a golden Eagle upon a Spear, with its Wings extended, which, he fays, ftill continues to be the Enfign 7 B. of the *Persian* Kings, and which we find by *Curtius*, 3 B. 3 c. continued to be fo as long as the *Persian* Empire fubfifted. The Defcription *Xenophon* gives us of this Eagle,

*Dion. Caf.* comes fo very near to that given by *Dion Caffius* of the fuis, 40 B. *Roman* Eagle, and alfo to the Representation of it upon *Trajan's* Pillar, that one may reasonably conclude the *Romans* receiv'd theirs from the eastern Part of the World. I own it is very probable that the *Romans*

*Eufebius* had an Eagle for their Enfign before the Battle, in *in his* which the firft *Cyrus* defeated *Cræfus*, and in which *Chron.* *Xenophon* fays he had an Eagle for his Enfign; for this Battle was fought in the firft Year of the 58<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, that is, about the 205<sup>th</sup> Year of *Rome*. Indeed the earlieft mention I can find of the *Roman* Eagle is in the Year of *Rome* 299, and the third of the eighty-firft Olympiad, *T. Romilius* and *C. Veturius* being Confuls; *Dionyf.* where *Siccus Dentatus* tells the People, that, in an *Hal. 10 B.* Action he there mentions, he recover'd the Eagle from the Enemy; but it muft be own'd alfo, that it is there fpoken of as a thing already eftablifh'd. I fay this to fhew the miftake of fome learned Men, who have

its Wings extended, resting upon a Spear. When the *Greeks* advanc'd towards them, the Horse quitted the Hill, not in a Body, but some running one way, and some another: However, the Hill was clear'd of them by degrees, and at last they all left it. *Clearchus* did not march up the Hill with his Men, but, halting at the foot of it, sent *Lycius* the *Syracusan*, and another, with Orders to reconnoitre the place, and make their Report; *Lycius* rode up the Hill, and, having view'd it, brought Word that the Enemy fled in all haste. While these things were doing, it grew near Sunset. Here the *Greeks* halted, and lying under their Arms, rested themselves. In the mean time they wonder'd, that neither *Cyrus* appear'd any where, nor any one from him: for they did not know he was dead; but imagin'd, that he was either led away by the Pursuit, or had rode forward to possess himself

have maintain'd that *Marius* was the first who introduc'd the Use of this Ensign. I will hazard a Conjecture: It is this. If the Account given by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* be true, which he supports by so many probable Circumstances, that *Aeneas*, after the Destruction of *Troy*, came into *Italy*, and built *Lavinium*, whose Inhabitants built *Alba*, of which the City of *Rome* was a Colony; if, I say, this Account be as true as it is probable, why may not *Aeneas* have brought this Ensign with him from the East? where possibly it might have been in use long before the Conquest of *Cyrus*.

Dionys.  
Hal. l. B.

himself of some Post. Hereupon they consulted among themselves, whether they should stay where they were, and send for their Baggage, or return to their Camp. At last they resolv'd to return : And arriv'd at their Tents about Supper-time : And this was the end of that Day. There they found the greatest part of their Baggage plunder'd, with all the Provisions, and also the Carriages full of Flower and Wine, which *Cyrus* had prepar'd, in order to distribute them among the *Greeks*, if at any time his Army should labour under the want of Necessaries. It was said these Carriages amounted to four hundred : which were then all rifled by the King's Troops, so that the greatest part of the *Greeks* had no Supper, neither had they eaten any Dinner ; for, before the Army could halt in order to dine, the King appear'd. And in this manner they pass'd the Night.

*The End of the First Book.*



T H E



T H E  
E X P E D I T I O N  
O F  
C Y R U S.

---

B O O K II.

---

**I**N the foregoing Book we have shewn, by what means *Cyrus* rais'd an Army of *Greeks*, when he march'd against his Brother *Artaxerxes*, what was perform'd during his March, and in what manner the Battle was fought, how *Cyrus* was killed, and the *Greeks*, thinking they had gain'd a compleat Victory, and that *Cyrus* was alive, return'd to their Camp, and betook themselves



BOOK selves to rest. As soon as it was Day, the Ge-  
 II. nerals, being assembled, wonder'd that *Cyrus*  
 neither sent them any Orders, or appear'd  
 himself; they resolv'd therefore to collect  
 what was left of their Baggage, and, arming  
 themselves, to move forward, in order to  
 join *Cyrus*. Just as they were on the point  
 of marching, and as soon as the Sun was  
 risen, <sup>1</sup> *Procles*, who was Governour of  
*Teuthrania*, a Descendent from *Damaratus* the *Lacedæmonian*, and *Glus*, the Son  
 of <sup>2</sup> *Tamos*, came to them, and acquainted  
 them that *Cyrus* was dead, and that *Arieus*  
 had left the Field, and was retir'd, with the  
 rest of the *Barbarians*, to the Camp they  
 had left the Day before; they added, <sup>3</sup> that

he

<sup>1</sup> Προκλῆς. *Teuthrania* was a City of *Mysia* in *Asia*  
*Minor*, of which *Procles* was Governour; he was de-  
 scended from *Damaratus*, one of the Kings of *Sparta*,  
 who was depriv'd of his Kingdom by his Colleague  
 Herodotus *Gleomenes*; upon which he fled to *Darius Hystaspes*,  
 in Poly- who entertain'd him with great Magnificence; he after-  
 hymnia. wards attended *Xerxes* in his Expedition to *Greece*.

<sup>2</sup> Ταμώ. He was of *Memphis*, and Admiral to  
*Cyrus*; after his Death, he sail'd with his Fleet to  
 Diod. Sic. *Egypt*, and, having formerly conferr'd some Obligations on *Psammitichus*, who was then King of that  
 14 B. Country, he made no doubt of his Protection; but  
*Psammitichus*, forgetting all Obligations, as well as the  
 Laws of Hospitality, put him to death, and seiz'd his  
 Fleet.

<sup>3</sup> Καὶ λέγουσι ὅτι ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν περιμένειεν αὐ-  
 τοὺς, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἔλκειν τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἀπίνεαι φαίην ἐπὶ Ἰω-  
 νίας, ὅθεν περ ἦλθε. All this is left out by *d' Ablancourt*.

he said he would stay for them that Day, BOOK II.  
 if they thought fit to come; but that the  
 next he would return to *Ionia*, from whence  
 he came. The Generals, and the rest of the  
*Greeks*, hearing this, were greatly afflicted;  
 and *Clearchus* said, “ ‘ Would to God *Cyrus*  
 “ were alive! but, since he is dead, let *Ariæus*  
 “ know, that we have overcome the King,  
 “ and, as you see, meet with no farther Re-  
 “ sistance, and that, if you had not come, we  
 “ had march’d against the King. At the same  
 “ time assure *Ariæus* from us, that, if he will  
 “ come hither, we will place him on the  
 “ Throne: for those who gain the Victory,  
 “ gain with it a right to command.” After  
 he had said this, he sent back the Messen-  
 gers; and with them *Cherisophus* the *Lace-*  
*demonian*,

Ωφελε μὲν Κύρου ζῆν. Ωφελον is here join’d  
 with an infinitive Mood, though in an optat. ve Sense. In  
 all these Phrases Ωφελου, or the *Ionick* Ωφελον, is not an  
 Adverb, whatever the Grammarians say; ως or εἶθε  
 being always understood, which Construction of the  
 Phrase is so true, that one of them is frequently ex-  
 press’d. Thus *Helen*, reproaching *Paris* for his inglori-  
 ous Behaviour in the Duel between him and *Mene-*  
*laus*, tells him,

Ηλυθες ἐκ πολέμου ὥς ὠφελές αὐτόν εἰλεσθαι; II. γ.  
 Αὐδρὶ δαμειέ κρατερῶ, ὅς ἐμὸς πρότερό ποτις ἦεν

Many other Examples may be given from the same  
 Author, where αἶθε or εἶθε is express’d.

BOOK *dæmonian*, and *Menon* the *Thessalian*: for  
 II. *Menon* himself desir'd it, he being a Friend  
 to *Ariæus*, and engag'd to him by an Inter-  
 course of Hospitality. So they went away,  
 and *Clearchus* staid 'till they return'd. In the  
 mean time the Army got Provisions as well as  
 they could, killing the Oxen and Asses that be-  
 long'd to the Baggage: And, instead of other  
 Wood, they made use of the Arrows, which  
 they found in great Quantities in the Field  
 of Battle, not far from the place where their  
 Army lay, (and which the *Greeks* obliged  
 the Deserters to pull out of the Ground) and  
 also of the *Persian* Bucklers, and the *Egyptian*  
 Shields, that were made of Wood,  
 besides a great many Targets, and empty  
 Waggon: with all which they dress'd their  
 Victuals, and, in this manner, they sup-  
 ported themselves that Day.

It was now ' about the time the Mar-  
 ket is generally full, when Herald's arriv'd  
 from the King and *Tissaphernes*, all of  
 whom were *Barbarians*, except *Phalinus*,  
 who was a *Greek*, and happen'd then to be  
 with *Tissaphernes*, by whom he was much  
 esteem'd ;

' Περὶ πλῆθους ἀγοράν. See the 117<sup>th</sup> Annotation  
 upon the first Book.

esteem'd; for he pretended to understand **BOOK**  
Tactics, and the <sup>6</sup> Exercise of Arms. These **II.**  
drawing near, and calling for the *Greek*  
Commanders, said, the King, since he had  
gain'd the Victory, and kill'd *Cyrus*, order'd  
the *Greeks* to deliver up their Arms, and, re-  
pairing to <sup>7</sup> Court, endeavour to obtain some  
favourable Terms from the King. This was the  
Message brought by the Heralds; which the

I 2

Greeks

<sup>6</sup> Ὀπλομαχίαν. *Leunclavius* has translated this *gladiatoriæ peritiæ*, which I cannot think so proper as *artem armis depugnandi* in *Hutchinson*; *d'Ablandcourt* has artfully evaded this Difficulty, by comprehending both τῶν περὶ τὰς τάξεις τε καὶ ὀπλομαχίαν in these general Words, *l'Art militaire*. It is very certain the *Romans* took many things, both in civil and military Affairs, from the *Greeks*, but I believe the gladiatorian Spectacles were in use in *Rome*, before they were heard of in *Greece*: The Origin of which seems to have been the early Custom in use among most Nations, of sacrificing Captives to the Manes of great Generals, who *Homer* were slain in war: Thus *Achilles* sacrifices twelve *Tro-* **II.** *↓*  
*jans* to the Manes of *Patroclus*, and *Aeneas* sends Cap- *Virgil*  
tives to *Evander*, to be sacrificed at the Funeral of his Son *Aeneid*,  
*Pallas*: *Valerius Maximus* says, that *M.* and *D. Brutus*, **11 B.**  
in the Consulship of *App. Claudius* and *M. Fulvius*, ho- *Val. Max.*  
pou'd the Funeral of their Father with a gladiatorian **2 B. c. 4.**  
Spectacle, which from that time became frequent upon  
those occasions; but this was many Years after the  
time our Author speaks of, when I am convinc'd the  
*Greeks* had never heard of these Spectacles; my Reason  
is, because whenever any *Greek* Author of, or near the  
Age *Xenophon* liv'd in, speaks of ὀπλόμαχοι, I dare  
say they always understand Masters appointed to teach  
military Exercises.

<sup>7</sup> Ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλείας θύρας. See the 29<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the first Book.

BOOK *Greeks* receiv'd with Indignation : However

II. *Clearchus* said no more to them, than that it was not the Part of Conquerors to deliver up their Arms: then, address'ing himself to the Generals, he said, "Do you make the best and most becoming Answer you can, and I will return immediately:" for he was called out by one of his Servants to inspect the Entrails of the Victim, which he was then offering up in Sacrifice. Upon this *Cleanor* the *Arcadian*, the oldest Person present, made answer, "That they would sooner die than deliver up their Arms." Then *Proxenus*, the *Theban*, said, "I wonder, O *Phalimus*! whether the King demands our Arms, as a Conqueror; or, as a Friend, desires them by way of Present. If, as a Conqueror, what occasion has he to demand them? Why does he not rather come and take them? But, if he would persuade us to deliver them, say, what are the Soldiers to expect in return for so great an Obligation?" To this *Phalimus* answer'd; "The King looks upon himself as Conqueror, since he has  
" killed

Plutarch  
Apophth.

<sup>8</sup> Τί δὲ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖν, ἀλλ' ὃ λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα ;  
Thus, when *Xerxes* sent to *Leonidas* at *Thermopylae* to deliver up his Arms, the latter bid him come and take them; λαβεῖ μολὼν, says he, according to the concise Style of his Country.

“ killed *Cyrus* ; for who is now his Rival Book II.  
 “ in the Empire ? He looks upon you also  
 “ as his Property, since he has you in the  
 “ middle of his Country, surrounded by  
 “ impassable Rivers ; and can bring such  
 “ numbers of Men against you, that, though  
 “ he deliver’d them up to you, your Strength  
 “ would fail you before you could put them  
 “ all to death.”

AFTER him *Xenophon*, an *Athenian*,  
 said, “ You see, O *Phalinus* ! that we have  
 “ nothing now to depend upon, ’ but our  
 “ Arms, and our Courage ; and, while we  
 “ are Masters of our Arms, we think we  
 “ can make use of our Courage also : but  
 “ that, when we deliver up these, we de-  
 “ liver up our Persons too. Do not there-  
 “ fore

I 3

ἢ Εἰ μὴ ὅπλα καὶ ἀρετή. *Arete* is here taken for  
 Courage, in which Sense it is frequently used by the  
 best Authors ; in this Sense *Idomeneus* says an Ambus-  
 cade is the Trial of a Soldier’s Courage,

—— λόχου ἔνθα μάλιστα ἀρετὴ διαείδεται ἀνδρῶν,  
 Εὐθ’ ὅτε δειλὸς ἀνὴρ, ὅς τ’ ἄλκιμος, ἐξεφάσθη.

Homer  
 Il. N.

In this Sense also *Virgil* says,

—— *Datus, an virtus, quis in hoste requirit ?*

*Virgil*  
*Aeneid*,  
 2 B.

After this, I believe, it will be allowed, that *d’ Ablan-*  
*court* does not give the Author’s Sense, when he says,  
*il ne nous est resté autre chose, que les armes & la liberté ;*  
 to justify this, he says the Greek Word signifies *la ver-*  
*tu*, though *ἀρετή* in this place signifies neither Liberty  
 nor Virtue.

BOOK "fore expect we shall deliver up the only

II. "Advantages we possess; on the contrary,  
 "be assur'd, that with these we are resolv'd  
 "to fight with you, even for those you  
 "are in possession of." *Phalimus*, hearing  
 this, smil'd, and said, "O Young Man!  
 "indeed you seem to be a Philosopher, and  
 "speak handsomely. But, believe me, you  
 "are mistaken, if you imagine, that your  
 "Courage will prevail over the Power of  
 "the King." However, it was report'd, that  
 others, whose Resolution began to fail, said,  
 that, as they had been true to *Cyrus*, they  
 would also be of great service to the King,  
 if he were dispos'd to be their Friend: and  
 that, whatever Commands he had for them,  
 they would obey him; and, if he propos'd  
 "to invade *Egypt*, they would assist him  
 in

Luc'an  
 πρὸς μα-  
 κροβίων.  
 Laërtius  
 i 1 B. c. 22.  
 "Ω νεανίσκῃ. I find all the Translators have ren-  
 der'd this in the same manner I have done; though if  
*Lucian's* Account of our Author be true, that is, that  
 he was above 90 Years old when he died; and if, ac-  
 cording to *Laërtius*, he died in the first Year of the  
 105<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, he must have been fifty, at least, at  
 the time of this Expedition: which I mention for the  
 sake of some worthy Gentlemen of my Acquaintance,  
 who will not be sorry to find a Man of fifty treated  
 as a young Man.

"Ἐπ' Αἰγυπτίον στρατεύειν. This Expedition is  
 propos'd, because the *Egyptians* had several Years before  
 withdrawn themselves from their Subjection to the  
*Persians*, and were at this time govern'd by a King of  
 their

in the Conquest of it. Upon this *Clearchus* return'd, and ask'd if they had already given their Answer. To whom *Phalimus* said, " These Men, O *Clearchus* ! say one, " one thing, and another, another ; but " pray, says he, let us have your Thoughts." To which he answer'd, " I rejoice, O *Phalimus* ! to see you, as, I am persuaded, all " these do, who are present : for you are " a *Greek*, as well as we, whom you see " before you in so great numbers ; where- " fore, in our present Circumstances, we " desire you to advise us what we ought to " do with regard to the Proposals you bring. " 12 We intreat you, therefore, by all the " Gods, give us that Advice, which you " think best, and most becoming, and which " will do you most honour in the Eyes of " Posterity, when it shall be said, that *Phalimus*, being sent by the King with Orders to " the *Greeks* that they should deliver up their " Arms, and, being consulted by them, gave " them this Advice : for you are sensible,

BOOK II.

I 4

" that

their own, called *Psammitichus*, descended from the Diop. Sic. ancient *Psammitichus*, who, being one of the twelve 13 B. Kings, put all the rest to death, and, by that means, Herodotus made himself King of all Egypt. in Euterpe.

12 Συμβουλευόμεθα σοι. See the 13<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the first Book,



BOOK “ that your Advice, whatever it is, must be  
 II. “ reported in *Greece*.” This *Clearchus* in-  
 sinuated, with a view of engaging the King’s  
 Embassador himself to advise them not to  
 deliver up their Arms, that, by this means, the  
*Greeks* might entertain better hopes: But  
 “ *Phalinus* artfully avoided the Snare, and,  
 contrary to his Expectation, spoke as fol-  
 lows

“ IF you had the least hope of a thou-  
 sand to preserve yourselves by making war  
 “ against the King, I should advise you not to  
 “ deliver

“ Φαλῖν δ’ ὑποσέψας. It is with great reason  
 that *Hutchinson* rejects the Sense *Leunclavius* gives to  
 ὑποσέψας in this place, as if it signified returning;  
 he has shewn out of *Julius Pollux*, that ἐξαπατᾶν,  
 σέφεισθαι, and ὑποσέφεισθαι, are synonymous; from  
 whence he very properly derives the *Latin* word *strophæ*,  
 a *Deceit*, to which I shall add, that *Pliny* the younger  
 makes use of the Word in this Sense, in one of his  
 Epistles, where he says, *inveniam aliquam stropham*,  
*agamque Causam tuam*. There is also a Passage in *Ari-*  
*stophanes*, where σροφή is used in the same Signification,  
 ἀλλ’ ἐκ ἔργου ἐς’ ἑδὲν σροφῶν, which the Scholiast  
 explains in a manner very agreeable to the Sense of  
 ὑποσέψας in this place; σροφαί, says he, οἱ συμπε-  
 πλεγμένοι, καὶ δολεροὶ λόγοι. D’ *Ablancourt* was aware of  
 the Difficulty of this Word, and has left it out: No-  
 thing surprises me so much, as that *Hutchinson*, after  
 having so justly condemn’d *reversus* in his Notes, should  
 follow it in his Translation. The *French* Language  
 has an Expression, which very properly explains ὑπο-  
 σέψας in this place, *détournant le Coup*.

Plin. Ep.  
 1. 18. 6.

Aristo-  
 phanes in  
 Pluto.

“ deliver up your Arms ; but, if you cannot  
 “ hope for Safety without his Concurrence, I  
 “ advise you to preserve yourselves by the only  
 “ means you can.” *Clearchus* replied, “ This,  
 “ I find, is your Sense of the Matter ; and  
 “ this Answer you are desir’d to return from  
 “ us, that we think, if it is propos’d we  
 “ should be Friends to the King, we shall be  
 “ more valuable Friends by preserving our  
 “ Arms, than by parting with them ; and that,  
 “ if we are to go to war with him, we shall  
 “ make war with greater advantage by keep-  
 “ ing our Arms, than by delivering them.”  
*Phalimus* said, “ I shall report this Answer :  
 “ However, the King order’d me also to let  
 “ you know, that, if you stay where you  
 “ are, you will have peace ; but, if you  
 “ advance or march back, you must ex-  
 “ pect war : let me have your Answer also  
 “ to this ; and whether I shall acquaint the  
 “ King, that you will stay here, and accept  
 “ of peace, or that you declare for war.”  
*Clearchus* replied, “ Let the King know,  
 “ that in this we are of the same opinion  
 “ with him.” “ What is that ?” said *Phali-*  
*nus*. *Clearchus* answer’d, “ That, if we stay,  
 “ there may be Peace, but, if we march  
 “ back, or advance, War.” *Phalimus* again  
 asked

BOOK asked, " Shall I report peace or war ?" To  
 II. this *Clearchus* replied, " Peace, if we stay,  
 { " and, if we march back, or advance, War;"  
 but did not declare what he propos'd to do,  
 So *Phalinus*, and those with him, went  
 away.

IN the mean time *Procles* and *Cherisophus* came from *Ariæus*, but *Menon* staid with him. They brought word that *Ariæus* said, there were many *Persians* of greater Consideration than himself, who would never suffer him to be their King: but desires, if you propose marching away with him, that you will come to him to-night; if not, he says he will depart the next Morning early. *Clearchus* answer'd, what you advise is very proper, if we join him; if not, do whatever you think most for your Advantage. But he did not acquaint even these with his Purpose. After this, when it was Sun-set, he assembled the Generals and Captains, and spoke to them as follows: " Gentlemen! I have consulted the Gods by Sacrifice, concerning marching against the  
 " King, and the Victims forbid it, and with  
 " great reason do they forbid it; for I am  
 " now inform'd that between us and the  
 " King

“ King lies the *Tigres*, a navigable River, BOOK  
 “ which we cannot pass without Boats; and II.  
 “ these we have not: neither is it possible  
 “ for us to stay here, for we are without  
 “ Provisions. But the Victims were very fa-  
 “ vourable to the Design of joining *Cyrus*  
 “ Friends. The Order therefore we ought  
 “ to pursue, is this; let every Man retire,  
 “ and sup upon what he has; and, when the  
 “ Horn sounds to rest, pack up your Bag-  
 “ gage; when it sounds a second time,  
 “ charge the sumpter Horses; and, when a  
 “ third, follow your Leader, and let the  
 “ Baggage march next to the River, and  
 “ the heavy-arm’d Men cover it.” The  
 Generals and Captains hearing this, departed,  
 and did as they were directed. From  
 this time *Clearchus* commanded, and the  
 rest submitted to him, not, as having elected  
 him to that Employment, but, because they  
 were sensible that he alone was equal to the  
 Command, the rest being without Expe-  
 rience. They had made from *Ephesus*, a  
 City of *Ionia*, to the Field of Battle, ninety-  
 three Marches, which amounted to five hun-  
 dred and thirty-five Parasangas, or to <sup>14</sup> six-  
 teen

<sup>14</sup> Σταδίοι πενήκοντα ἡ ἑξακισχίλιοι ἡ μύριοι.  
 This confirms what was advanc’d in the 21<sup>st</sup> An-  
 notation

BOOK teen thousand and fifty Stadia : ' and, from  
 II. the Field of Battle to *Babylon*, it was com-  
 puted there were three thousand and sixty  
 Stadia.

AFTER this, as soon as it was dark,  
*Miltocythes*, the *Thracian*, with his Horse,  
 being forty in number, and three hundred  
*Thracian* Foot, deserted to the King. *Cle-*  
*archus* led the rest, in the manner he  
 had appointed, and they followed : About  
 Midnight,

notation upon the first Book, viz. that a *Parasanga*  
 contain'd thirty Stadia.

<sup>15</sup> Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐλέγοντο εἶναι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα,  
 ἑξήκοντα καὶ τρισχίλιοι. Here must be some  
 mistake, probably, in the Transcriber, though *Xeno-*  
*phan* says upon Report only, that there were three thou-  
 sand and sixty Stadia from the Field of Battle to *Baby-*  
*lon* : However, *Plutarch* seems to come much nearer  
 the truth, when he says there were but five hundred ;  
 for, if the Reader will compute the Distances mention'd  
 by our Author from *Thapsacus*, where *Cyrus* pass'd the  
*Euphrates*, to the Field of Battle, he will find that  
 they amount to no less than four thousand six hundred  
 and fifty Stadia ; now the ancient Geographers allow  
 no more than four thousand eight hundred, from *Thap-*  
*sacus* to *Babylon*, in following the Course of the *Ea-*  
*phrates*, which we find was the Rout the Army took :  
 so that there will, in that case, remain no more than  
 one hundred and fifty Stadia, from the Field of Battle  
 to *Babylon*, which is so vastly short of the Distance  
 mention'd by *Xenophon*, that the difference seems to be  
 rather owing to a fault in the Transcriber, than to a  
 mistake in those, from whom *Xenophon* receiv'd his  
 Information. I am surpriz'd none of the Translators  
 have thought fit to take notice of this Passage.

*Plutarch*  
*in Artaxerxes.*

*Strabo,*  
 2 B.

Midnight, they arriv'd at their first Camp, Book II.  
 where they found *Ariæus* with his Army;  
 and the Men being drawn up and standing  
 to their Arms, the Generals and Captains of  
 the *Greeks* went in a body to *Ariæus*, and  
 both they and he, with the most consider-  
 able Men about him, took an Oath not to  
 betray one another, and to become Allies:  
 The *Barbarians* also swore that they would  
 conduct them without Deceit. This was  
 the Substance of their Oath, which was pre-  
 ceded by the " Sacrifice of a Boar, a Bull,  
 a Wolf, and a Ram, whose Blood being all  
 mix'd together in the hollow of a Shield,  
 the *Greeks* dipp'd a Sword into it, and the  
*Barbarians* a Spear. When they had pledged  
 their Faith, *Cléarchus* said, " Since, O  
 "*Ariæus!* your " Rout and ours are the  
 " same, say, what is your Opinion concern-  
 " ing

<sup>16</sup> Σφάξαντες κτήνη, &c. The Custom of giving a Sanction to solemn Leagues and Treaties, by the Sacrifice of particular Animals, is very ancient: Thus Homer II. γ.  
 the Agreement between the *Greeks* and *Trojans*, and the single Combat of *Paris* and *Menelaus*, which was consequent to it, was preceded by the Sacrifice of three Lambs, one to the Earth, another to the Sun, and a third to *Jupiter*. The Blood of the Victims was often mixed with Wine, and sometimes receiv'd in a Vessel, in which the contracting Parties dipp'd their Arms, as Herodotus in Melpomene.  
*Herodotus* informs us was practis'd by the *Scythians*.

<sup>17</sup> Στόλ. See the 19<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the first Book,

BOOK " ing our march? Shall we return the same  
 II. " way we came, or have you thought of  
 " any other more convenient?" *Ariens*  
 answer'd, " If we return the same way we  
 " came, we shall all perish with Hunger;  
 " since we are now entirely destitute of Pro-  
 " visions: for, during the last seventeen days  
 " march, we could supply ourselves with  
 " nothing out of the Country, even in our  
 " way hither; and, whatever was found  
 " there, we have consumed it in our Pas-  
 " sage; so that though the way we now pro-  
 " pose to take is longer, yet we shall be in  
 " no want of Provisions. We must make our  
 " first Marches as long as ever we can, to  
 " the end we may get as far as possible from  
 " the King's Army: for, if we can once  
 " gain two or three days march of him, it  
 " will not after that, be in his power to  
 " overtake us: Since with a small Army  
 " he will not dare to follow us, and with  
 " a great one he will not be able to make  
 " quick marches; it is also probable he may  
 " want Provisions." This, says he, is my  
 Opinion.

THIS Scheme for the march of the Army  
 was calculated for nothing but a Retreat,  
 or

or a Flight; but Fortune prov'd a more glorious Conductor. As soon therefore as it was Day, they began their march, with the Sun on their right, expecting to arrive by Sun-set at some Villages that lay in the Country of *Babylon*; and in this they were not mistaken. But <sup>18</sup> in the Afternoon they thought they saw the Enemy's Horse; upon which not only the *Greeks*, who happen'd to have left their Ranks, ran to them in all haste, but *Ariens* also alighting, (for being wounded, he was carried in a Chariot) put on his Corset, as did all those about him. But, while they were arming, the Scouts, who had been sent out, brought word, that they were not Horse, but only sumpter Horses at Pasture, from whence every one presently concluded that the King's Camp was not far off: For a Smoke also appear'd in the neighbouring Villages. However *Clearchus* did not lead them against the Enemy (for he knew the Men were tir'd, and had eaten nothing all Day; besides it was late): neither did he march out of the way, avoiding the Appearance of a Flight: but leading them directly forward, at Sun-set he quarter'd with the Vanguard,

<sup>18</sup> Αμφὶ δειλόν. See the 119<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the first Book. in



BOOK in the Villages nearest to him, out of which  
 II. the King's Army had carried away even  
 the Timber that belong'd to the Houses. Those who arriv'd first, encamp'd with some kind of Uniformity, but the others who followed, coming up when it was dark, quarter'd, as they could, and made so great a noise in calling out to one another, that the Enemy heard them, of whom those who lay nearest to the *Greeks* ran away, leaving even their Tents. This was known the next Day: for no sumpter Horses or Camp appear'd, neither was there any Smoke to be seen in the Neighbourhood. It seems the King himself was struck at the Approach of our Army: This was evident by what he did the next day.

ON the other side, the Night advancing, the *Greeks* also were seiz'd with Fear, which was attended with a Tumult and Noise, usual in such cases. Upon this *Clearchus* order'd *Tolmides* of *Elis*, the best Cryer of his time, whom he happen'd to have with him, to command silence, and make Proclamation from the Commanders, that, whoever gave Information of the Person, who had turn'd the <sup>the</sup> <sup>19</sup> Ass into

<sup>19</sup> Ος ἂν ἀφιέντα τὸν ὄνον εἰς τὰ ὄπλα, &c.  
*Hutchinson*, I think, very justly finds fault with *Leu-*  
*clavius*

the Quarter of the heavy-arm'd Men, should receive the Reward of a <sup>20</sup> silver Talent. By this Proclamation, the Soldiers understood that their fear was vain, and their Commanders safe. At break of Day, *Clearchus* order'd the *Greeks* to stand to their Arms in the same Disposition they had observ'd in the Action.

WHAT I said concerning the King's being terrified at our Approach, became then manifest.

*clavius* for changing τὸν θυόν into τὸν φόβον, without the Authority of any Manuscript ; for, as he observes, we find in the beginning of this Book, that they had Asses among their Beasts of Burden : But then I cannot think *Exercitui* in *Leunclavius*, or in *Castra* in *Hutchinson*, a close Translation of εἰς τὰ ὄπλα, which last Sense I find *d'Ablancourt* has also given to it. I rather take τὰ ὄπλα in this place to signify the Quarter of the heavy-arm'd Men ; in which Sense I dare say our Author uses it afterwards, where he says that *Proxenus* and himself were walking πρὸ τῶν ὀπλῶν ; and in this Sense I am sure *Thucydides* uses the Word in the beginning of the third Book, where he says, that the Peloponnesians being encamp'd in Attica, laid waste the Country, 'till the Athenian Horse coming up, put a stop to the Excursions of the light-arm'd Men, and hinder'd them from leaving the heavy-arm'd, and continuing their Depredations in the Neighbourhood of the City : τὸν πλεῖστον ὁμίλου τῶν ψιλῶν εἶργον, τὸ μὴ προεξιόντας τῶν ὀπλῶν, τὰ ἐγγύς τῆς πόλεως κακουργεῖν, where τῶν ὀπλῶν is explain'd by the *Greek* Scholiast by τῶν ὀπλιτῶν.

<sup>20</sup> Τάλαντον ἀργυρίῳ. See the 11<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the first Book. Possibly the Drachmæ and Minæ of which this Talent was compos'd, might be of a different Standard from those there mention'd.

BOOK manifest. For having sent to us the Day

II. before to deliver up our Arms, he then sent  
 Heralds by Sun-rise to treat of a Truce. These, when they came to the Out-guards, enquir'd for the Commanders; of which, when the Guards gave notice, *Clearchus*, who happen'd at that time to be viewing the Ranks, bad them order the Heralds to stay 'till he was at leisure. And, as soon as he had drawn up the Army in such a manner, that it made a fine Appearance, <sup>21</sup> the Ranks being clos'd on all sides, and no unarm'd Men to be seen, he sent for the Messengers; and himself came forward, attended by those of his Soldiers, who were the best arm'd, and most graceful in their Persons, and desired the rest of the Generals to do the like. When they came to the Messengers, he asked them what they wanted. They said, they were Persons come to treat of a Truce, being properly qualified to carry Messages between the King and the *Greeks*. He answer'd, let the King know

then,

<sup>21</sup> Φάλαγγα πυκνήν. Πύκνωσις τῆς Φάλαγγος, among the *Greek* Masters of Tactics signifies properly the closing both of the Ranks and Files. ἔς, πύκνωσις μὲν ἐκ τῶ ἀραιότερου εἰς τὸ πυκνότερον συναγωγή κατὰ παραστάτην τε καὶ ἐπιστάτην. *Arrian*. This is unfortunately render'd by d'Abblancourt après avoir rangé l'armée en bataille au meilleur état qu'elle put être.

then, that first we must fight : for we have nothing to dine on, and there is no Man so hardy as to mention a Truce to the *Greeks*, unless he first provides them a Dinner. The Messengers, hearing this, departed, and return'd presently : by which it appear'd that the King was near at hand, or some other Person, who was appointed to transact this matter. They said the King thought their Demand very reasonable, and that they had brought Guides with them, who, if a Truce were concluded, should conduct them to a place, where they would find Provisions. *Clearchus* then ask'd, whether the King propos'd to comprehend those only in the Truce, who went between him and them, or whether it should extend to all ; they said to all, 'till the King is inform'd of your Proposals. After they had said this, *Clearchus* ordering them to withdraw, held a Council, where it was resolv'd immediately to conclude a Truce, and to march peaceably to the place where the Provisions were, and supply themselves therewith. *Clearchus* said, I join with you in this opinion ; however, I will not immediately acquaint the Messengers with our

BOOK  
II.

BOOK Resolution, but defer it 'till they <sup>22</sup> apprehend  
 II. {hend lest we should reject the Truce. I  
 imagine that our Soldiers also will lie under  
 the same Apprehension. Therefore when he  
 thought it time, he let them know that he  
 would enter into a Truce, and immediately  
 order'd the Guides to conduct them where they  
 might get Provisions: so they led the way.

*CLEARCHUS* then march'd with  
 his Army in Order of Battle, to conclude  
 the Truce, he himself taking charge of the  
 Rear. In their march they met with Ditches  
 and Canals full of Water, which they were  
 not able to pass without Bridges. These  
 they made with Palm-Trees, some of which  
 they found lying upon the Ground; others  
 they cut down. Upon this occasion it might  
 be observ'd, how equal *Clearchus* was to  
 the Command; for, taking his Pike in his  
 left Hand, and a <sup>23</sup> Staff in his right, if he  
 saw

<sup>22</sup> Ες' αὐτὸν ἀκνήσωσιν οἱ Ἄγγελοι. Οκνῶ. φοβεῖμαι.  
 καὶ πυκνῶς τέτρω χέρεται Σοφοκλῆς ἐπὶ τῷ φοβεῖσθαι.

Soph. in  
 Ajax.

Φρουρῶντα γὰρ νῦν ἐκ αὐτοῦ ἐξέστη ὀκνῶ.

This is from *Suidas*, whom I quote upon this occasion,  
 because this Word, in its general Acceptation, signifies  
 to be unwilling, to be backward.

<sup>23</sup> Εὐ δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ βακτηριάν. The *Lacedæmonian*  
 Commanders carried a Staff or Stick, (I am afraid of  
 calling

saw any of those he had appointed to this Service, backward in the execution of it, he displac'd him, and substituted a proper Person in his room, he himself, at the same time, going into the Dirt, and assisting them; so that every one was asham'd not to be active. He had appointed Men of thirty Years of Age to this Service, but, when those of a more advanc'd Age, saw *Clearchus* forwarding the Work in Person, they gave their Assistance also. *Clearchus* pressed it the more, because he suspected the Ditches were not always so full of Water, (for it was not the Season to water the Country) : he therefore imagin'd the King had order'd the Waters to be let out, with this view, that the *Greeks* might foresee great Difficulties attending their march.

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calling it a Cane) possibly for the same purpose, as the *Roman* Centurions used a *Vitis*, that is, to correct their Soldiers. *Thucydides* gives one to *Astyochus*, the *Lacedæmonian* Commander ; and we find in *Plutarch*, that *Eurybiades*, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, and *Themistocles*, differing in opinion concerning the Operations of their united Fleet, the former, impatient of Contradiction, held up his Stick threatening to strike *Themistocles*, who, instead of being diverted by this Outrage from supporting his Opinion, upon which he knew the Safety of all *Greece* depended, generously sacrific'd his Resentment for a private Indignity to his Zeal for the publick Good, and made him that memorable Answer, *Strike, if you will, but hear me*, πύταξον μὲν, ἀκούε δέ.

BOOK  
II.

Thucyd.  
8 Book.  
Plutarch  
in his Life  
of Themistocles.

BOOK II. AT last they came to the Villages, where the Guides told them they might supply themselves with Provisions. Here they found plenty of Corn, and <sup>24</sup> Wine made of the Fruit of the Palm-Tree, and also Vinegar drawn, by boiling, from the same Fruit. These Dates, such as we have in *Greece*, they give to their Domesticks; but those which are reserv'd for the Masters, are chosen Fruit, and worthy of Admiration, both for their Beauty and Size. They had, in all respects, the Appearance of Amber, Some of these they dried for Sweet-meats, The Wine that was made of this Fruit was sweet to the Taste, but apt to give the Head-ake: Here also the Soldiers eat, for the first time, <sup>25</sup> the Pith of the Palm-Tree, and many admir'd both the <sup>26</sup> Figure, and the peculiar

<sup>24</sup> Οὐδὲ Φοίνικων. See the 92<sup>d</sup> Annotation upon the first Book.

Plin.N.H. <sup>25</sup> Τὸν ἐκέφαλον τῷ φοίνικι. *Pliny* and *Theophrastus* both say, that the Pith here mention'd grows on the top of the Palm-Tree.

<sup>26</sup> Εἶδος. I cannot like *genus ipsum* in the *Latin* Translators for εἶδος: had *Xenophon* meant the kind of Food, as *Hutchinson*, I find, understands it, since he has added the word *cibi*, he sure would also have added τῷ εἶδηματι. I rather think that our Author meant the particular Figure of it, which is no uncommon Signification of the word εἶδος; *d'Ablancourt* has also understood it in this Sense.

peculiar Sweetness of it. This also occa-  
sion'd violent Head-akes. The Palm-Tree,  
from whence this Pith was taken, wither'd  
entirely. Here they staid three Days ; dur-  
ing which *Tissaphernes*, with the Queen's  
Brother, and three other *Persians*, came  
from the great King : They were attended  
by many Slaves. When the *Greek* Gene-  
rals went to meet them, *Tissaphernes*, by  
an Interpreter, first spoke in the following  
manner :

“ I live, O *Greeks* ! in the Neighbour-  
“ hood of *Greece*, and, seeing you involv'd  
“ in many insuperable Difficulties, look'd  
“ upon it as a <sup>27</sup> piece of good Fortune, that  
“ I had room to request the King to allow  
“ me to conduct you safe into *Greece* : for  
“ I imagine that I shall find no want of Gra-

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“ titude

<sup>27</sup> Εὖρημα ἐποισχόμεν. In this sense Εὖρημα is  
used by *Thucydides*, where *Nicias* tells the *Athenians*, *Thucydi-*  
that the Affairs of the *Lacedæmonians* having taken an *des, 5 B.*  
unhappy Turn, they would look upon it as a piece of  
good Fortune to have it in their power immediately  
to hazard a Battle, ἐκείνοις δὲ δυσυχῶσιν, ὅτι τάχιστα  
εὖρημα εἶναι διακινδυνεύσαι : I think *Leunclavius* has not  
said properly, *reperiundum mihi aliquid duxi* ; how much  
happier has *Hutchinson* render'd it, *in lucro mihi depu-*  
*tandum censui* ? *Fay taché d'apporter quelque remede à*  
*vos maux* in *d'Ablancourt*, has not the least pretence to  
a Translation of this Passage.



BOOK " titude either in you, or in the whole  
 II. " *Greek* Nation. Upon this Consideration  
 " I made my request to the King, alledging,  
 " that I had a Title to this Favour, because  
 " I was the first Person, who inform'd him  
 " that *Cyrus* was marching against him,  
 " and, together with this Information,  
 " brought an Army to his Assistance: And  
 " also, because I was the only Commander  
 " in that part of the Army that was oppo-  
 " site to the *Greeks*, who did not fly, but  
 " broke through, and join'd the King in  
 " your Camp: whither he came, after he  
 " had killed *Cyrus*; and, with these Troops  
 " here present, who are most faithful to  
 " him, I persued the *Barbarians* belong-  
 " ing to *Cyrus*. These things, the King  
 " said, he would take into Consideration;  
 " but commanded me to ask you, what  
 " Motive induc'd you to make war upon  
 " him? And I advise you to answer with  
 " Temper, that I may, with the greater ease,  
 " obtain some favour for you, from the  
 " King."

UPON this the *Greeks* with-drew, and,  
 having consulted together, made answer.  
*Clearchus* spoke in the Name of the rest, and  
 said,

said, “ We did not come together with Book  
 “ a design of making War upon the King, II.  
 “ neither did we march against him: But  
 “ *Cyrus* found many Pretences, as you very  
 “ well know, that he might take you unpre-  
 “ par’d, and lead us hither. However, when  
 “ we saw him in Difficulties, our Respect both  
 “ to Gods, and Men, would not allow us to  
 “ abandon him, especially since we had for-  
 “ merly given ourselves leave to receive  
 “ Obligations from him : But since *Cyrus*  
 “ is dead, we neither contend with the  
 “ King for his Kingdom, nor have any rea-  
 “ son to desire to infect his Country : nei-  
 “ ther do we mean to destroy him, but to  
 “ return home, provided no one molests  
 “ us ; but, if any Man offers an Injury to  
 “ us, we shall, with the Assistance of the  
 “ Gods, endeavour to revenge it. And, if any  
 “ one confers a Favour on us, we shall not,  
 “ to the utmost of our power, be behind-  
 “ hand in returning it.” Thus he said.

To him *Tissaphernes* replied : “ I shall  
 “ acquaint the King with this, and then let  
 “ you know what he says to it ; and, ’till I  
 “ return, <sup>28</sup> let the Truce continue ; in  
 “ the

<sup>28</sup> Αἱ σπονδαὶ μενόντων. See the 65<sup>th</sup> Annotation  
 upon the first Book.

BOOK “ the mean time we will provide a Market  
 II. “ for you.” The next Day he did not re-  
 turn, which gave the *Greeks* some Uneasiness: but the third Day he came, and inform’d them, that he had prevail’d upon the King to allow him to conduct them safe to *Greece*, though many oppos’d it, alledging, that it was “ unbecoming the Dignity of the King to suffer those to escape, who had made war upon him. He concluded thus; “ And now you may rely upon the Assurance we give you, that we will effectually cause the Country to treat you as “ Friends, conduct you without Guile into “ *Greece*, and provide a Market for you: “ And, wherever we do not provide one, we “ allow you to supply yourselves out of the “ Country. On your side, you must take “ an Oath to us, that you will march, as “ through a Friend’s Country, without doing any damage to it, and only supply “ yourselves with Meat, and Drink, when “ we

Thucyd.  
 A.B.

“ Ως ἂν ἄξιον εἴη βασιλεῖ. *Thucydides* uses this Word in the same Sense, where the Embassadors of *Plataea* tell *Archidamus*, and the *Lacedaemonians*, that, by making an Irruption into their Country, they act unjustly, and in a manner unbecoming both themselves and their Ancestors, ἡ δίκαια ποιεῖτε, ἢ δ’ ἀξία ἔτε ὕμῶν, ἢ τε πατέρων ὧν ἐστέ, εἰς γὰρ τὴν Ἠλαταίῃων στρατεύουτες.

“ we do not provide a Market for you :  
 “ And, when we do, that you will pay for  
 “ what you want.” This was agreed upon ;  
 and *Tissaphernes*, with the Queen’s Brother,  
 took the Oath, and gave their Hands to the  
*Greek* Generals, and Captains, and receiv’d  
 those of the *Greeks*. After this, *Tissapher-*  
*nes* said, I must now return to <sup>30</sup> the King,  
 and, when I have dispatch’d what is neces-  
 sary, I will come back to you, with all  
 things in readiness, both to conduct you  
 into *Greece*, and return myself to my own  
 Government.

AFTER this the *Greeks* and *Ariæus*, be-  
 ing encamp’d near to one another, waited  
 for *Tissaphernes* above twenty Days. Dur-  
 ing which, the Brothers, and other Relations  
 of *Ariæus*, came to him, and some of the  
*Persians* came to those who were with  
 him, giving them Encouragement, and As-  
 surances from the King, that he would for-  
 get their taking up Arms against him in fa-  
 vour of *Cyrus*, and every thing else, that  
 was past. While these things were trans-  
 acting, it was manifest that *Ariæus* and his  
 People

<sup>30</sup> Ως βασιλεία. See the 18<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon  
 the first Book.

BOOK People paid less regard to the *Greeks*: Many  
 II. of whom, being dissatisfied at this, came  
 to *Clearchus*, and to the rest of the Generals, and said, "Why do we stay here?"  
 "Do we not know, that the King desires,  
 "above all things, to destroy us, to the  
 "end that all the rest of the *Greeks* may  
 "be deterred from making War against  
 "him? He now seduces us to stay, because  
 "his Army is dispers'd, which being re-  
 "assembled, it is not to be imagin'd, but that  
 "he will attack us: Possibly also he may ob-  
 "struct our march, either by digging a  
 "Trench, or raising a Wall in some con-  
 "venient place, in such a manner, as to  
 "render it impracticable<sup>31</sup>. For he will  
 "never willingly suffer us to return to  
 "*Greece*, and publish, that, being so few  
 "in number, we have defeated his Army at  
 "very the Gates of his Palace, and return'd  
 "in triumph." BUT

<sup>31</sup> Ου γάρ ποτε ἐκὼν γε βελλήσεται ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπαγγεῖλαι, ὥς ἡμεῖς τοσοῦτε ὄντες ἐνικῶμεν τὴν βασιλείῳς δύναμιν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταγελάσαντες ἀπήλθομεν. I have transcrib'd this Period, that the Reader may confront it with *d'Abblancourt's* Translation. Thus he has render'd it, *car il ne souffrira jamais que nous repassions en Greece pour y publier notre gloire & sa honte.* This is one of those many Periods in that Translator, the Vivacity of which could not fail to please, were they not design'd for Translations.

BUT *Clearchus* said to those who al-  
 ledg'd this; " I consider all these things as well  
 " as you ; but I consider at the same time,  
 " that, if we now depart, we shall be thought  
 " to depart with an Intention of making  
 " War, and to act contrary to the Terms of  
 " the Truce : The Consequence of which  
 " will be, that no one will provide a Mar-  
 " ket for us, or a Place, where we may  
 " supply ourselves : Besides, we shall have  
 " no Guide to conduct us ; and the mo-  
 " ment we enter upon these Measures, *A-*  
 " *riæus* will desert us : so that we shall pre-  
 " sently have no Friend left, and even those,  
 " who were so before, will become our  
 " Enemies. I don't know whether we have  
 " any other River to pass, but we all know  
 " that it is not possible for us to pass the  
 " *Euphrates*, if the Enemy oppose it. If  
 " if we are oblig'd to fight, we have no  
 " Horse to assist us, whereas those of the  
 " Enemy, are very numerous, and very good ;  
 " so that, if we conquer, how many shall  
 " we be able to kill ? And, if we are con-  
 " quer'd, none of us can possibly escape.  
 " Therefore I don't see why the King, who  
 " is possess'd of so many Advantages, should ;  
 " if he desires to destroy us, think it neces-

" sary

BOOK "sary first to take an Oath, and pledge his  
 II. "Faith, then to provoke the Gods by Per-  
 { "jury, and shew both the *Greeks* and *Bar-*  
 " *barians*, how little that Faith is to be  
 "relied on:" He said a great deal more  
 to the same purpose.

IN the mean time *Tissaphernes* arriv'd with his Forces, as if he design'd to return home, and with him *Orontas* also with his Men. The last carried with him the King's Daughter, whom he had married. From thence they began their march, *Tissaphernes* leading the way, and providing them with a Market. *Ariæus* march'd at the Head of the *Barbarians*, who had serv'd under *Cyrus*, with *Tissaphernes* and *Orontas*, and encamp'd with them. The *Greeks*, being diffident of these, march'd by themselves, having Guides to conduct them. Each of them always encamp'd separately, at the distance of a Parasanga, or less; and were each upon their Guard against one another, as against an Enemy, and this immediately created a Suspicion: Sometimes, while they were providing themselves with Wood, Forage, or other things of that nature, they came to Blows: And this also bred ill  
 Blood

Blood between them. After three days Book  
march, they came to the Wall of *Me-* II.  
*dia*, through which they passed: <sup>32</sup> it was  
built with burn'd Bricks laid in Bitumen;  
and was twenty Feet in thickness, and  
one hundred in height; it was said to  
be

<sup>32</sup> Ην δὲ ὠκοδομημένον πλίνθις ὅπταις ἐν ἀσφάλτῳ  
κειμέναις. The Walls of *Babylon* were also built with  
burnt Bricks cemented with Bitumen instead of Morter:  
ἐλύσαντες οἱ, says *Herodotus*, πλίνθας ἰκανὰς, ὥπτη- *Herodotus*  
σαν αὐτὰς ἐν καμίνοις· μετὰ δὲ τέλματι χρεώμενοι ἀσ- *in Clio.*  
φάλτῳ θερμῇ. I am convinc'd from these, and seve-  
ral other Passages among the Ancients, that they em-  
ployed raw Bricks for many uses, otherwise it cannot  
well be understood why these two Authors should lay  
so much stress upon these Bricks being burn'd: but  
this is not all, I am perswaded that the Directions  
given by *Vitruvius* and *Palladius*, for making Bricks, *Vitruvius*  
relate chiefly to raw Bricks, for they both direct *z B. c. 3.*  
the Earth, of which the Bricks are made, to be *Palladius*  
wrought up with Straw. These Directions are, no *in May.*  
doubt, very proper, where the Bricks are not to be  
burn'd, because the Straw holds the Earth together;  
but, if Bricks made in this manner were to be burn'd,  
the consequence would be, that the Straw being con-  
sum'd in the Fire, as many pieces of Straw as there  
were in every Brick, so many hollow places there  
would be in them. There is a Passage in *Pausanias*,  
where he tells us, that *Agesspolis*, making an Irruption into  
the Country of *Mantineia*, turn'd the River *Ophis* that ran  
near the Town, against the Wall, and, by that means,  
dissolv'd it; the reason he gives for it, is, that *it was Pausanias*  
*built of raw Brick*, ὥμῃς ὠκοδομημένης τῇ; πλίνθι. ἐν Ἀρχα-  
Upon this occasion he says, that raw Bricks are bet- *δικαίς.*  
ter to resist battering Engines, than Stones, because  
they are not so subject to break and fly out of their  
Courses: but then he adds, that raw Bricks are as  
easily dissolv'd by Water, as Wax is by the Sun.



BOOK be twenty Parasangas in length: and was  
 II. not far from *Babylon*.

FROM thence they made, in two days march, eight Parasangas, and pass'd two Canals, one upon a Bridge, the other upon seven Pontons: <sup>33</sup> These Canals were deriv'd from the *Tigres*; from them, Ditches were cut that ran into the Country, the first, broad, then narrower, which at last ended in small Water-courses, such as are used in *Greece* to water Panic. Thence they came to the River *Tigris*, near which stood a large and populous City, called *Sitace*, at the distance of fifteen Stadia from the River; the *Greeks* encamp'd close to the Town, near a large and beautiful <sup>34</sup> Park, thick with Trees of every kind, and the *Barbarians* on the other side of the *Tigris*, but out of sight of our Army. After Supper *Proxenus* and *Xenophon* happen'd to be walking before the <sup>35</sup> Quarter, where the heavy-arm'd Men lay encamp'd; when a Man came and ask'd the

Out-

<sup>33</sup> Αυται δε ἦσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ. See the 115<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the first Book.

<sup>34</sup> Εἰς τὴν Παραδείσιν. See the 22<sup>d</sup> Annotation upon the first Book.

<sup>35</sup> Πρὸ τῶν ὀπλων. See the 19<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon this Book.

Out-guards, where he might <sup>36</sup> speak with *Proxenus* or *Clearchus*: But he did not enquire for *Menon*, though he came from *Ariaeus*, with whom *Menon* liv'd in <sup>37</sup> Hospitality. And, when *Proxenus* told him he was the Person he enquir'd after, the Man said, *Ariaeus* and *Artæzus*, who were faithful to *Cyrus*, and wish you well, sent me to advise you to stand upon your guard, lest the *Barbarians* attack you to-night, there being numerous Forces posted in the neighbouring Park. They advise you also to send a Detachment to guard the Bridge over the *Tigris*, because *Tissaphernes* designs, if he can, to break it down to-night; to the end, that you may not be able to pass the River, but may be shut in between

the

<sup>36</sup> Πῶς ἂν ἴδοι Πρόξενον ἢ Κλέαρχον. Both the *Latin* Translators have said *ubinam Proxenum vel Clearchum reperirent*: *D'Ablancourt* has translated it in the same Sense. There is a Passage in *Thucydides* which induces me to differ from them; he says, τὸν Περδίκην — ἠνάγκασαν, πρὶν τὸν Βρασιδαν ἰδεῖν — προαπελθεῖν: where πρὶν τὸν Βρασιδαν ἰδεῖν is thus explain'd by the *Greek* Scholiast, πρὶν διαλεχθῆναι τῷ Βρασιδᾷ, ὅτι γὰρ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ λέγουσιν, ὡς τὸ ἰδεῖν τί σε ἐβλόμην ἀντὶ τῷ διαλεχθῆναι σοί τι. And indeed frequent Instances of this Atticism are to be met with in the best Authors.

<sup>37</sup> Ξένον. See the 12<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the first Book.

BOOK the *Tigris*, and the Canal. They, hearing  
 II. this, carried him to *Clearchus*, and inform'd  
 him of what he said. Upon which *Clearchus* was in great Trouble and Consternation ; when a young Man, who was present, having consider'd the matter, said, “ To attack us, and break down the Bridge too, are  
 “ things inconsistent ; for it is plain, that,  
 “ if they attack us, they must either conquer,  
 “ or be conquer'd : if they conquer, why  
 “ should they break down the Bridge ? For,  
 “ in that case, though there were many  
 “ Bridges, we should have no Place to retreat to with safety. On the other side,  
 “ if we conquer them, and the Bridge be  
 “ broken down, they themselves will have  
 “ no Place to fly to ; neither can the rest  
 “ of their Army, though in great numbers  
 “ on the other side, if they break it down,  
 “ give them any Assistance.”

*CLEARCHUS*, hearing this, ask'd the Messenger, <sup>38</sup> of what Extent the Country

was,

<sup>38</sup> Πόση τις εἴη χώρα. *D'Abblancourt* has visibly mistaken the Sense of this Expression, he says *Clearque demanda au Messager quel étoit le Païs entre le Tigre & le Canal*, whereas πόσος denotes Quantity not Quality, as the Grammarians speak, for which reason he should have said, *de quelle étendue étoit le Païs ;*  
 had

was, that lay between the *Tigris*, and the Canal: The other answer'd, that it was of a large Extent, and contain'd, besides Vil-  
lages, many large Cities. It was then found, that the *Barbarians* had sent this Man insi-  
diouſly, <sup>39</sup> from an Apprehenſion, leſt the

BOOK  
II.

*Greeks* had *Xenophon* ſaid ποία τις εἴη χῶρα, his Tranſlation would have been proper. The *Latin* Tranſlators have render'd it as they ought. What I have ſaid is juſti-  
fied by the Meſſenger's Answer, ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι πολλή.


<sup>39</sup> Οκνῶντες μὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες διελθόντες τὴν γέφυραν, μένοιεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. So the *Latin* Tranſlators give the Text, without taking any notice of a very great Diffi-  
culty that occurs in it; but, in order to underſtand this, let us caſt our Eyes upon the Situation of the *Greeks*. They had paſſ'd the laſt of the two Canals, that lay in their way, and were now encamp'd under the Walls of a Town call'd *Sitace*, that ſtood cloſe to the River *Tigris*; while they lay there, the *Per-  
ſians*, who were encamp'd on the other ſide of that River, ſent this inſidious Meſſage to them: But what was the occaſion of this Meſſage? Certainly not the fear, leſt the *Greeks*, after they had paſſ'd the Bridge, ſhould remain in the Iſland, *ne Græci, cum tranſiſſent Pontem, in Inſula manerent*, as *Hutчинſon* has tranſlated it. The Bridge, *Xenophon* has told us, lay over the *Tigris*, and the Iſland was the Country that lay be-  
tween that River and the Canal they had already paſſ'd, which Iſland *Xenophon* has already told us in two places, was a large and plentiful Country, and very populous: The end of this Meſſage therefore was to divert the *Greeks* from ſtaying in this Iſland, for the Reaſons allēdg'd by our Author, and the readieſt way to effect that, was to induce them to paſs the *Tigris* immediately, from an Apprehenſion, leſt the Enemy ſhould break down the Bridge; and, that the View of the *Perſians* was to engage them to paſs the River, and not to prevent them from doing ſo, as *Hutчинſon*

BOOK *Greeks* should not pass the Bridge, but remain in the Island, which was defended on one side, by the *Tigris*, and on the other, by the Canal: where the Country, that lay between, being large, and fruitful, and in no want of Labourers to cultivate it, might both supply them with Provisions, and afford them a Retreat, if they were dispos'd to make War upon the King. After this, they went to Rest; however they sent a Detachment to guard the Bridge: But no Attempt of any kind was made upon their Camp, neither did any of the Enemy come

up

and *Leunclavius* have translated it, appears very plainly from their Behaviour afterwards; for we find they did not attempt to molest them in their Passage. By this time I believe the Reader is satisfied there must be some fault in the Text, which I will venture to cure by the Addition of one little Word; if we read *οἰκνῦντες μὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες μὴ διελθούτες τὴν γέφυραν, μένοιοιεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ*, the Sense will be compleat; and, that this Correction, which is the first I have made, *Xenophon* may not seem too bold, I will put the Reader in mind of a Passage in our Author, where there is exactly the same Turn of Phrase, I am here contending for; he says of his Master *Socrates*, *ἐθαύμαζε δ' εἴ τις ἀρετὴν ἐπαγγελόμενος, ἀργύριον πράττοιτο, καὶ μὴ νομίζοι τὸ μέγιστον κέρδος, ἔξειν, φίλον ἀνθρώπου κτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ φοβεῖτο μὴ ὁ γεόμενος καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός, τῷ τὰ μέγιστα εὐεργετήσαντι μὴ τὴν μεγίστην χάριν ἔχει.* *D'Ablancourt*, by his Translation, seems to have been aware of this Difficulty, in which he must be allowed to have the Advantage over the *Latin* Translators, though neither he nor they have said one Word to clear it up, or even to discover it.

*Xenophon*  
ἀπομνη-  
μονευμά-  
των, 1 B.

up to the Bridge, as the Guards inform'd us, BOOK  
 The next Morning, by break of Day, they II.  
 pass'd the Bridge, which was supported by   
 thirty-seven Pontons, with all possible Pre-  
 caution: for, some of the *Greeks*, who  
 were with *Tissaphernes*, sent word, that the  
 Enemy design'd to attack them in their Pas-  
 sage: but this did not prove true. How-  
 ever, while they were passing the River,  
*Glus* appear'd with some others, observing  
 whether they pass'd it or not: and perceiv-  
 ing they did, he rode off.

FROM the *Tigris* they made, in four  
 days march, twenty Parasangas, and came to  
 the River *Phycus*, which was one hundred  
 Feet in breadth. There was a Bridge over  
 it. Here stood a large and populous City,  
 called *Opis*: At this place they were met by  
 a natural Brother of *Cyrus* and *Artaxerxes*,  
 who was marching to the Assistance of the  
 King, at the head of a numerous Army,  
 which he had drawn out of *Susa* and *Ecba-*  
*tana*; and, causing his Troops to halt, he  
 took a view of the *Greeks*, as they pass'd  
 by him. *Clearchus* led his Men two by two,  
 standing still from time to time: Thus, while  
 the Vanguard halted, the whole Army was

BOOK oblig'd to stand still. By this means, their

II. Forces appear'd very numerous, even to the *Greeks* themselves, and the *Persian* was struck with the sight. From thence they made, in six days march, thirty *Parasangas*, through the desert Part of *Media*, and arriv'd at the Villages belonging to *Parysatis*, the Mother of *Cyrus* and *Artaxerxes*: These *Tissaphernes*, to insult the Memory of *Cyrus*, gave the *Greeks* leave to plunder of every thing but Slaves: There they found a great Quantity of Corn, <sup>40</sup> Cattle, and <sup>41</sup> other things. From thence they made twenty *Parasangas*, in five days march, through a Desert, having the *Tigris* on their left. At the end of their first Day's march, they saw a large and rich City, on the other side of the River, called *Cænæ*; from whence the *Barbarians* transported Bread, Cheese, and Wine <sup>42</sup> upon Rafts made of Skins.

AFTER that they came to the River *Zabatus*, which was four hundred Feet in breadth. Here they staid three Days. During

<sup>40</sup> Πρόβατα. Πρόβατα, πάντα τὰ τετράποδα. *Suidas*.

<sup>41</sup> Χρηματα. See the 53<sup>d</sup> Annotation upon the first Book.

<sup>42</sup> Σχεδιάς. See the 90<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the first Book.

ing which time, there were Jealousies, but no Evidence of Treachery: *Clearchus* therefore resolv'd to have a Conference with *Tissaphernes*, and, if possible, to put an end to these Jealousies, before they broke out into Hostilities: with this view he sent a Person, to let him know that he desir'd a Conference with him. *Tissaphernes* readily answer'd that he might come; and, when they met, *Clearchus* spoke thus: “ I  
“ am sensible, O *Tissaphernes*! that we  
“ have sworn, and pledg'd our Faith, not  
“ to do any Injury to one another. Not-  
“ withstanding which, I observe you are  
“ upon your guard against us, as against  
“ an Enemy: And we, perceiving this,  
“ stand also upon our guard. But, since  
“ upon Consideration I cannot find that you  
“ endeavour to do us any mischief, and  
“ am very sure that we have not the least  
“ Thought of hurting you, I judg'd it pro-  
“ per to have a Conference with you, to  
“ the end that we might, if possible, extin-  
“ guish our mutual Diffidence. For I have  
“ known Men, who, while through Ca-  
“ lumnies or Jealousies, they stood in fear  
“ of one another, have, with a View of  
“ inflicting a Mischief before they received



BOOK " one, done irreparable Injuries to those,  
 II. " who never had either the Intention, or  
 " Desire to hurt them. As therefore I am  
 " of opinion, that such Mistakes are easiest  
 " remov'd by Conferences, I come with an  
 " Intention of convincing you, that you  
 " have no reason to distrust us. For, to  
 " mention that first, which is of the greatest  
 " moment : Our oaths, to which we have  
 " called the Gods to witness, forbid us to  
 " be Enemies ; and that Person who is  
 " conscious to himself of having neglected  
 " them, in my opinion, can never be happy ;  
 " for, whoever becomes the Object of divine  
 " Wrath, I know no Swiftneſs can ſave  
 " him, no Darkneſs hide him, no ſtrong  
 " Place defend him : Since in all Places all  
 " Things are ſubject to their Power, and  
 " every where they are equally Lords of  
 " all. This is my Opinion concerning both  
 " our Oaths, and the Gods, whom, by our  
 " Agreement, we have made the Deposi-  
 " taries of our Friendship. As to human  
 " Advantages, I look upon you to be the  
 " greatest we can promiſe ourſelves at this  
 " juncture ; for, while we are with you,  
 " every Road is pervious, every River paſ-  
 " ſable, and we are ſure to know no want :

" but,

“ but, without you, every Road becomes ob- Book  
 “ scure, (for we are utterly unacquainted II.  
 “ with them) every River impassable, every  
 “ Multitude terrible, and Solitude the most  
 “ terrible of all ; for <sup>43</sup> that is attended  
 “ with the want of every thing. If there-  
 “ fore we should arrive to such a degree  
 “ of Madriess, as to put you to death, what  
 “ should we do else but destroy our Bene-  
 “ factor, and still have the King, the most  
 “ powerful of all <sup>44</sup> Avengers, to contend  
 “ with ? I shall now let you see what hopes  
 “ I should deprive myself of, if I endea-  
 “ your’d

<sup>43</sup> Μεσὴ πολλῆς ἀπορίας ἐστίν. The Latin Trans-  
 lators do not seem to have attended to the general  
 Contrast there is between these two Periods, otherwise  
 they would not have render’d μεσὴ πολλῆς ἀπορίας,  
*multis difficultatibus referta* ; for, as ὁδὸς διὰ σκότους is  
 oppos’d to ὁδὸς εὐποροῦ, and πᾶς ποταμὸς δύσπορος  
 to πᾶς ποταμὸς διαβατός, so μεσὴ πολλῆς ἀπορίας  
 is visibly oppos’d to τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔκ ἀπορία. D’Ab-  
 lancourt has, in my opinion, said much better, *parce*  
*qu’elle traîne après soy la nécessité.*

<sup>44</sup> Εφεδρον. Εφεδρον, according to the Greek Scho- Sophoc.  
 liaft upon *Sophocles*, is properly ὁ παρεσκευασμένον, ὅταν Ajax, υ.  
 δύο τινὲς παλαίωσι, παλαίσειν τῷ νικήσαντι. *Plutarch* 615.  
 very beautifully applies this to *Telefinus*, who was very  
 near defeating *Sylla*, after so many Victories, at the  
 Gates of *Rome*, τὸν μέντοι τελευταίου ἀγῶνα, καθάπερ *Plutarch*  
 ἐφεδρον ἀθλητὴς καταπόνῳ προσερχθεὶς ὁ Σαννίτης Τε- in his Life  
 λεσίνον, ἐλγὺς ἦλθε τῷ σφῆλαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν ἐπὶ of *Sylla*.  
 θύραις τῆς Ρώμης. This cannot be preserv’d in a mo-  
 dern Translation.

BOOK " your'd to hurt you. I desir'd to make  
 II. " *Cyrus* my Friend, because I look'd upon  
 " him as the most capable of all Men living  
 " to serve those he wish'd well to. Now, I  
 " find, you have obtain'd not only the  
 " Army, but the Country, that belong'd to  
 " *Cyrus*, as an Accession to your own; and  
 " that the King's Power, of which he felt  
 " the Weight, is become your Support. In  
 " these Circumstances therefore, who would  
 " be so mad as not to desire to be your  
 " Friend? Yet farther I shall let you know  
 " upon what I found my hopes, that you  
 " will also desire to be a Friend to us. I  
 " know the *Mysians* are troublesome to  
 " you; these, with the Forces under my  
 " Command, I hope I can oblige to submit  
 " to your Power. I know the same thing  
 " of the *Pisidians*, and am inform'd that  
 " many other Nations are in the same Dis-  
 " position, who, by my means, shall cease  
 " for ever to disturb your Happiness. I  
 " find you are incens'd against the <sup>45</sup> *Egypt-*  
 " *tians*, more than against any other Na-  
 " tion, and cannot see what Forces you can  
 " better employ than ours, to assist you in  
 " chastising

<sup>45</sup> *ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΣ*. See the 11<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon this Book.

“ chastising them. If you desire to be a Book  
 “ Friend to any of your Neighbours, your II.  
 “ Friendship, through our means, will be  
 “ come most valuable : and, if any of them  
 “ molest you, you may, as their Superior,  
 “ destroy them by our Assistance ; for we  
 “ shall not only be subservient to you for  
 “ the sake of our Pay, but also in return for  
 “ the Obligation we shall justly owe to you,  
 “ as to our Deliverer. When I consider all  
 “ these things, I am so much surpriz’d to  
 “ find you diffident of us, that I would wil-  
 “ lingly know the Person, who is so power-  
 “ ful an Orator, as to persuade you, that  
 “ we form Designs against you.” Thus spoke  
*Clearchus* ; and *Tissaphernes* answer’d him  
 in this manner :

“ I am pleas’d, O *Clearchus* ! to hear you  
 “ speak with so much prudence : for, while  
 “ you entertain these Thoughts, if you  
 “ should meditate any thing against me, you  
 “ would, at the same time, act contrary to  
 “ your own Interest. But do you hear me  
 “ in your turn, while I inform you, that  
 “ you yourselves cannot, with justice, distrust  
 “ either the King, or me : for, if we were  
 “ desirous to destroy you, do you think we  
 “ are

BOOK " are in any want of numerous Horse, or  
 II. " Foot to effect it? Or of Arms defensive  
 { " and offensive, with which we have it in  
 " our power to do you mischief, without  
 " the danger of receiving any? Or do you  
 " think we want proper Places to attack  
 " you? Are there not so many Plains inha-  
 " bited by our Friends, through which you  
 " must march with great difficulty? So  
 " many Mountains within your sight, over  
 " which your Road lies, and which, by  
 " our possessing ourselves of them, we can  
 " render impassable to you? So many Ri-  
 " vers which afford us the Advantage of  
 " chusing out what numbers of you we  
 " think proper to engage? Some of these  
 " you cannot even pass but by our Assis-  
 " tance. But say, we are inferior in all  
 " these: Fire at least will prove superior  
 " to the Fruits of the Earth. By burning  
 " these we can oppose Famine to you,  
 " with which, though you are never so  
 " brave, you will not be able to contend.  
 " Why therefore should we, who have so  
 " many Opportunities of making war upon  
 " you, none of which carry any Danger  
 " with them, chuse the only one of all these,  
 " that is both impious, and dishonourable;  
 " the





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“ the Refuge of those, who are destitute of Book  
 “ all others, distress’d and driven to Extre- II.  
 “ mities, and who, being at the same time  
 “ wicked Men, resolvè to accomplish their  
 “ Designs through Perjury towards the Gods,  
 “ and Breach of Faith towards Men? We  
 “ are not, O *Clearchus*! either so weak,  
 “ or so void of Reason. When it was in  
 “ our power to destroy you, why did we  
 “ not attempt it? Be assur’d, the desire I had  
 “ of approving my Fidelity to the *Greeks* was  
 “ the Reason: And that, as *Cyrus* march’d  
 “ against the King, relying on foreign For-  
 “ ces, from the Pay he gave them; so I  
 “ might return home supported by the same  
 “ Troops, from the Obligations I had con-  
 “ ferred on them. As to the many things, in  
 “ which you may be of service to me, some  
 “ of them you have mention’d; but I know,  
 “ which is the greatest: It is the Prerogative  
 “ of the King to wear <sup>46</sup> an upright Turban  
 “ upon

“ 46 Τίςραυ ὀρθήν. Most Authors who treat of the  
 Affairs of *Persia*, have taken notice of this Custom:  
 But there is a Print of a *Persian* Monument found  
 among the Ruins of *Persopolis* by *De Bruyn*, and given  
 by *Gronovius* in his Notes upon *Herodotus*, to shew that *Herodotus*  
 this is the very Monument the latter says *Darius Hy-* in *Thalia*.  
*staspes* caus’d to be erected in honour of his Horse and  
 Groom, to whom he owed the Kingdom; I take no  
 notice of the Reasons alledg’d by *Gronovius* to support  
 his



BOOK “ upon his Head; but, with your Assistance  
 II. “ possibly another may, with some Con-  
 { “ fidence, wear it in his Heart.”

*CLEARCHUS* thought all he said to be true, and answer'd, “ Since therefore  
 “ we have so many Motives to be Friends;  
 “ do not those, who, by Calumnies, en-  
 “ deavour to make us Enemies, deserve the  
 “ severest Punishment?” “ If you, says *Tif-*  
*saphernes*, with the rest of the Generals,  
 “ and Captains, think fit to come to me in  
 “ publick, I will acquaint you with those, who  
 “ aver that you have Designs against me and  
 “ my Army.” “ I will bring them all, says  
 “ *Clearchus*; and, at the same time, let you  
 “ know, in my turn, from whence I receiv-  
 “ ed my Information concerning you.” As  
 soon as this Conference was over, *Tissapher-*  
*nes* shewed him great Civility, and, desiring  
 him to stay, entertain'd him at Supper. The  
 next day *Clearchus* returning to the Camp,  
 made it manifest that he entertain'd very  
 friendly Thoughts of *Tissaphernes*, and gave  
 an Account of what he propos'd. He said,  
 those

his Conjecture, which seems well founded, because this Monument is here exhibited with another view, namely to let the Reader see the difference of the Turbans worn by the Kings and Subjects of *Persia*.

those *Tissaphernes* demanded, ought to go BOOK II.  
 to him; and that the Persons who were found to be the Authors of these Calumnies, ought to be punish'd as Traitors and ill-affected to the rest of the *Greeks*: for he suspected *Menon* to be one of them, knowing that he and *Ariæus* had been in Conference with *Tissaphernes*, and that he was forming a Party against him, and intriguing in order to draw the whole Army to a dependence upon himself; and, by that means, to recommend himself to *Tissaphernes*. *Clearchus* also himself was no less solicitous to engage the Esteem of the whole Army, and to remove those, who oppos'd him. But some of the Soldiers, in contradiction to him, said, that all the Generals and Captains ought not to go, neither ought they to trust *Tissaphernes*. However *Clearchus* so strongly insisted upon it, that he prevail'd to have five Generals, and twenty Captains sent to him: About two hundred Soldiers followed, under colour of going to the Market.

WHEN they came to the Door of *Tissaphernes*, the Generals were called in: these were *Proxenus* a *Bæotian*, *Menon* a *Thes-*  
*salian*.

BOOK *Salian, Agias an Arcadian, Clearchus a*  
 II. *Lacedæmonian, and Socrates an Achaian.*

The Captains staid without : Not long after, at the same Signal, those who were within, were apprehended, and those without, cut to pieces. After this, some of the *Barbarian* Horse, scouring the Plain, killed all the *Greeks* they met with, both Freemen and Slaves. The *Greeks*, from their Camp, seeing these Excursions of the Horse, were surpriz'd, and in doubt of what they were doing, 'till *Nicarchus*, an *Arcadian*, came flying from them, being wounded in the Belly, and bearing his Bowels in his Hands; and inform'd them of all that had pass'd. Upon this the *Greeks* were amaz'd, and expecting they would immediately come and attack their Camp, ran to their Arms. But they did not all come; only *Ariæus* with *Artezus* and *Mithridates* came, Persons who had shewn the greatest Fidelity to *Cyrus*. However, the Interpreter of the *Greeks* said, he saw the Brother of *Tissaphernes* with them, and knew him. They were followed by three hundred other *Persians* clad in Armour : these, when they drew near, order'd, if any Generals or Captains of the *Greeks* were present, they should advance, to the end, they

they might acquaint them with the King's Pleasure. Upon this, the Generals, *Cleonor*, an *Orchomenian*, and *Sophænetus*, a *Stymphalian*, went out of the Camp with great Caution; and with them *Xenophon*, an *Athenian*, that he might learn what was become of *Proxenus*. (*Cheirisophus* hap- pen'd to be absent, being employed, with others, in getting Provisions in some Vil- lage.) When they came within hearing, *Ariæus* said, "*Clearchus*, O *Greeks*! hav- ing been found guilty of a Violation both of his Oath, and of the Articles of Peace, is justly punish'd with death; while *Prox- enus*, and *Menon*, for having given In- formation of his Designs, are in great honour. Of you the King demands your Arms, for he says they are his, as having belong'd to *Cyrus*, who was his Sub- ject."

To this the *Greeks* made answer, *Cleonor*, the *Orchomenian*, speaking in the Name of the rest: "O *Ariæus*! thou most wicked  
" of

Δούλος. Literally his Slave; this, it seems, was the Style of the *Persian* Court, which not only treated their Subjects as Slaves, but had the Insolence to call them so.

BOOK “ of all Men, and the rest of you, who  
 II. “ were Friends to *Cyrus*! have you no re-  
 { “ gard either to the Gods or Men? You,  
 “ who after you have sworn to us to look  
 “ upon our Friends and Enemies as your  
 “ own, now conspire with *Tissaphernes*,  
 “ the most impious and deceitful of all Men,  
 “ to betray us: and having <sup>48</sup> both destroyed  
 “ those Persons, to whom you gave your  
 “ Oaths, and deceived the rest of us, now come  
 “ with our Enemies to invade us?” To this  
*Ariæus* said, “ But it first appear’d that  
 “ *Clearchus* was forming Designs against  
 “ *Tissaphernes*, *Orontas*, and all the rest  
 “ of us.” Upon this *Xenophon* replied, “ If  
 “ *Clearchus*, contrary to his Oath, has been  
 “ guilty

<sup>48</sup> Οἷς ὤμνυτε ὡς ἀπολωλέκατε. *Hutchinson*, with great reason, finds fault with *Leunclavius* for translating this, *Sacramento confirmabatis vos planè periisse*; but takes no notice of the Difficulty arising from the Particle ὡς, which, I own, weighs so much with me, that I cannot persuade my self *Xenophon* wrote τῶς τε ἀνδράς αὐτούς, οἷς ὤμνυτε, ὡς ἀπολωλέκατε; at least not in the Sense he has translated it, *posteaquam viros ipsos, quibus dedistis Jusjurandum, perdidistis*. If, instead of ὡς ἀπολωλέκατε, we might venture to read ἀπολωλεκότες, without ὡς, I think the Period would be more intelligible: I believe it will be own'd, that ἀπολωλεκότες agrees very well with προδεδωκότες in the following Sentence, and it seems to have been the Author's Design to connect them together with the Particles τε and καί,

“ guilty of a Violation of the Peace, he is Book  
 “ justly punish’d : for it is just that those II.  
 “ who are guilty of Perjury, should be put  
 “ to death. However, send *Proxenus* and  
 “ *Menon* to us, since they are both your  
 “ Benefactors, and our Commanders : For  
 “ it is evident, that, being Friends to both  
 “ of us, they will endeavour to advise that,  
 “ which is best for both.” To this the *Bar-*  
*barians* made no answer, but, having con-  
 ferred together for a considerable time, they  
 departed.

THE Generals being thus apprehended,  
 were carried <sup>49</sup> to the King, by whose Or-  
 ders their Heads were cut off. One <sup>50</sup> of  
 them, *Clearchus*, was allowed by all that knew  
 him to have been a Man both of a military  
 Genius, and one who delighted in War to  
 the last degree. For, as long as the *Lace-*  
*demonians* were at war with the *Athenians*,  
 he continued in the Service of his Country;  
 but, after the Peace, he perswaded his Fel-  
 low-Citizens, that the *Thracians* oppress’d  
 the *Greeks*, and having prevail’d on the

M 2

*Ephori,*

<sup>49</sup> Ως βασιλεύ. See the 18<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the  
 first Book.

<sup>50</sup> Εἰς μὲν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχος. See the Introduction.

Book *Ephori* <sup>11</sup>, by some means or other, he set  
 II. sail with a design to make war upon the  
*Thracians*, who inhabit above the *Cherso-*  
*nesus* and *Perinthus*. After his Departure  
 the *Ephori*, for some reasons, chang'd their  
 Minds, and recall'd him from the *Isth-*  
*mus*: But he refused to obey them, and  
 sail'd away for the *Hellepont*. Upon this  
 he was condemn'd to death by the Ma-  
 gistrates of *Sparta*, as guilty of Disobe-  
 dience. And being now a banish'd Man,  
 he comes to *Cyrus*, and by what means  
 he gain'd his Confidence, has been men-  
 tion'd in another place. *Cyrus* gave him ten  
 thousand <sup>12</sup> *Daricks*. Having receiv'd this  
 Money,

<sup>11</sup> Παρὰ τῶν Εφόρων. The ancient Authors do not  
 agree concerning the Person who instituted these Ma-  
 gistrates. *Herodotus* attributes their Institution to *Ly-*  
*curgus*, and *Xenophon* to him, jointly with the most  
 considerable Citizens of *Sparta*. On the other hand,  
*Plutarch* says *Theopompus*, who reign'd many Years af-  
 ter *Lycurgus*, was the Author of it. However, this  
 is certain, that the three Orders of the State, that is,  
 the two Kings, the Senators, all the Magistrates, even  
 during their Magistracy, and the People were subject  
 to their Power. But the thing that gives the greatest  
 Relief to the Reputation of their College, is, that it  
 serv'd as a Model to the Institution of the *Roman Tri-*  
*bunes*, who, like the *Ephori*, were only five in num-  
 ber, 'till the Year of *Rome* 297, and the first of the  
 81 Olympiad, *C. Horatius* and *Q. Minucius* being Con-  
 suls, when five more were added to them.

<sup>12</sup> Δαρεικός. See the 11<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the  
 first Book.

Herodotus  
 in Clio.  
 Xenophon  
 of the  
 Lacedæ-  
 monian  
 Common-  
 wealth.  
 Plutarch  
 Life of  
 Lycurgus.  
 Xenop. ib.  
 Dionys.  
 Hal. 6 B.  
 H. 10 B.

Money, he did not give himself up to Indolence, but, raising an Army with it, made war upon the *Thracians*; and, over-coming them in Battle, plunder'd their Country, and continued the War, 'till *Cyrus* had occasion for his Army. He then departed with a design of attending him in his Expedition.

BOOK  
II.

THESE therefore seem to be the Actions of a Man delighting in War<sup>53</sup>, who, when it is in his power to live in Peace without Detriment or Dishonour, prefers War; when to live in Ease, chuses Labour, with a View to War; and when to enjoy Riches without danger, chuses rather, by making War, to diminish them: so that he spent his Money in War, as chearfully as if it had been in Gallantry, or any other Pleasure. So much he delighted in it. His Genius for War appeared by his Forwardness to expose himself, and to attack the Enemy either by Night or Day,


M 3

and

<sup>53</sup> Ος-ις, ἐξὸν μὲν εἰρήνην ἔχειν ἂνευ αἰσχύνης καὶ βλάβης, αἰρεῖται πολεμεῖν. D'Ablandcourt has strangely mistaken this Passage, thus he has render'd it, *que pouvant vivre en Repos après la Paix, cherche la guerre aux dépens même de son honneur, & de sa vie*: This he says is stronger than the Text: but I believe the Reader will be of opinion, that instead of strengthening the Author's Sense, he has destroy'd it.



BOOK and by his Conduct in danger: As those

II.  who attended him upon all occasions, universally acknowledged. He was said to have possess'd the Art of commanding, as far as could be expected from a Man of his Temper: for, being as capable, as any other, of taking care his Army was supplied with Provisions, and of providing them, he was not less so of inspiring those, who were present, with a Dread of disobeying *Clearchus*. This he effected by Severity; for his Look was stern, and his Voice harsh: He always punish'd with Rigour, and frequently in Passion; so that he sometimes repented it. But he also inflicted Punishments with Deliberation, looking upon an Army without Discipline, to be of no service. He is reported to have said, that <sup>54</sup> a Soldier ought to fear his Commander more than the Enemy, if it is expected that he should do his Duty upon Guard, abstain from what belongs to a Friend, or attack the Enemy without Reluctance. In Dangers the Men obeyed him

Livy.

<sup>54</sup> Ως δέοι στρατιώτη φοβεῖσθαι μάλλον, &c. This Saying of *Clearchus* is imitated by *Livy*, where *Camillus*, having restor'd the *Roman* Army to its ancient Discipline, *effecit*, says he, *ne hostis maxime timendus esset*. *D'Ablandcourt* has thought fit to leave out above half this Period, the reason he gives for it is, *parce qu'il ne faut rien ajouter à un bon mot*: but sure this is a liberty no Translator ought to indulge himself in.

him absolutely, nor ever desired to be com- BOOK  
manded by any other; for they said his II.  
Sternness seem'd then chang'd to Chearful-  
ness, and his Severity to Resolution: So that  
they look'd upon it no longer as Severity,  
but as their Preservation. However, when  
the Danger was over, and they had an oppor-  
tunity of serving under other Commanders,  
many of them left him; for he was not in the  
least gracious, but always rough and cruel:  
so that the Soldiers were in the same Dispo-  
sition to him, as Scholars to their Master:  
for none ever followed him out of Friend-  
ship, or Good-will. Those, who were ap-  
pointed by his Country, or compelled through  
Want, or any other Necessity to serve under  
him, were perfectly obedient to him. And,  
when they began to conquer under his Com-  
mand, many things concurr'd to make them  
good Soldiers: for their Confidence in their  
own Strength, join'd to their Fear of him,  
made them observant. This was his Cha-  
racter as a Commander: but it was said  
that he was unwilling to be commanded by  
others. When he died, he was about fifty  
Years of Age.

BOOK

II.

*PROXENUS*, the *Bæotian*, even from a Child, was desirous of becoming equal to great Employments; and to satisfy this desire, he gave a Sum of Money to *Gorgias* the *Leontine*. After he had been some time with him, thinking himself now both able to command, and, if he enter'd into the friendship of great Men, to return all Obligations, he engaged in this Enterprize with *Cyrus*, from whence he promis'd to himself great Reputation, great Power, and great Riches: Though he was earnest in the pursuit of these, yet on the other side his Conduct plainly shewed that

he

Diod. Sic.  
12 B.

Arbuth-  
not of an-  
cient Coins.


Diod. Sic.  
12 B.

Ἰσογύγιος. This *Gorgias* was a celebrated Master of Eloquence. He so far surpass'd all the rest of his Profession, that *Diodorus Siculus* tells us he receiv'd no less from his Scholars than one hundred Minæ, that is, 1.322 : 18 : 4 Sterling. This *Gorgias*, it seems, was at the head of the Embassy which the *Leontines* sent to *Athens*, the second Year of the 88<sup>h</sup> Olympiad, to desire their Assistance against the *Syracusans*. In the first Audience he had of the *Athenians*, his Eloquence, or rather the Novelty of it, so enchanted that People, who were great Admirers of both, that they were unfortunately prevail'd upon to engage in the *Sicilian* War, the Event of which gave them so fatal a Blow, they could never recover it. *Diodorus Siculus* says also, that he was the Inventor of the Art of Rhetoric, and the first, who made use of studied Figures and labour'd Antitheses of equal Length, and the same Termination; this manner of speaking, the same Author says, pleas'd at first from its Novelty, but was afterwards look'd upon as affected, and, if frequently practis'd, ridiculous.

he did not desire to gain any of them BOOK  
through Injustice: but that he ought to at- II.  
tain them with Justice and Honour, and not  
otherwise. He was very capable of com-  
manding an orderly and a well-disciplin'd  
Army; but incapable of inspiring Respect,  
or Fear, and stood in greater Awe of his  
Men, than they of him; it being visible,  
that he was more afraid of disobliging them,  
than they of disobeying him. It was his  
opinion, that all that was requir'd to be, and  
seem to be equal to the Command, was to  
praise worthy Men, and not to praise the  
unworthy: for which reason he was belov'd  
by Men of Worth and Honour, while ill  
Men were for ever forming Designs against  
him, as against a Man easy to be circum-  
vented. He was about thirty Years old,  
when he died.

*MENON* the *Thessalian*, did not either  
conceal his immoderate Desire of Riches;  
or his Desire of commanding, in order to in-  
crease them; or of being esteem'd for the  
same reason. He desir'd to be well with those  
in Power, that his Injustice might escape  
Punishment. He thought the shortest ways  
to accomplish his Designs were Perjury,  
Falshood,

BOOK Falshood, and Deceit ; and that Simplicity  
II. and Truth were Weaknesses. He was observ'd to have no Affection for any Man, and, where he profess'd a Friendship, it was visible he design'd to betray. He never spoke with Contempt of an Enemy, but was ever turning all those he convers'd with into ridicule. He never form'd any Design against the Possessions of an Enemy, (for he thought it difficult to rob those who were upon their guard) but look'd upon himself as the only Person that was sensible how very easy it is to seize the unguarded Possessions of a Friend. He stood in fear of those whom he observ'd to be guilty of Perjury and Injustice, as of Men well arm'd ; but practis'd upon Persons of Piety and Truth, as upon those, who are defenceless. And, as others value themselves upon Religion, Veracity, and Justice, so *Menon* valued himself upon being able to deceive, to invent Falshoods, and abuse his Friends : And look'd upon those as ignorant, who were without Guile. When he endeavour'd to gain the first place in any Man's Friendship, he thought the most effectual way of recommending himself, was by slandering those who were in possession of it. He sought to make himself obeyed

obeyed by the Soldiers, by becoming an Ac- BOOK  
complice in their Crimes. He aimed at be- II.  
ing esteem'd and courted, by shewing that   
he had both the Power and the Will to  
commit great Injustice. If any one forsook  
him, he spoke of it as a favour, that, while  
he made use of his Service, he did not de-  
stroy him. Whatever is not publicly known  
in this Man's Character, may seem to be  
feign'd, but the following Particulars all  
the World is acquainted with. While he  
was in the Flower of his Youth he obtain'd  
the Command of the Mercenaries in the  
Service of *Aristippus*. At that Age also he  
was in great favour with *Ariæus*, a *Bar-  
barian*, because he delighted in beautiful  
Youths: And before he himself had a Beard,  
he had a bearded Favourite, called *Thary-  
pas*. When the rest of the Generals suf-  
fer'd for having made war against the King  
with *Cyrus*, he, though equally guilty, did  
not lose his Life; but was afterwards pu-  
nish'd with death by the King, not like  
*Clearchus*, and the rest of the Generals,  
by losing his Head, which was look'd upon  
as the most honourable Death; but, as it is  
said, after he had been tortur'd for a whole  
Year, like a Malefactor.

168 *The* EXPEDITION of CYRUS.

BOOK *AGIAS*, the *Arcadian*, and *Socrates*,

II. the *Achaian*, were both put to death at  
the same time; these were without Re-  
proach, both in War, and Friendship. They  
were then about forty Years of Age.

*The End of the Second Book;*



T H E



T H E  
E X P E D I T I O N  
O F  
C Y R U S.

---

B O O K   I I I.

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WE have, in the foregoing Discourse, Book related the Actions of the *Greeks* III. during the Expedition of *Cyrus*, — to the Battle, and what happen'd after his Death, when the *Greeks* march'd away with *Tissaphernes* upon the Peace. After the Generals were apprehended, and the Captains and Soldiers who accompanied them, put to death, the *Greeks* were in great distress : They consider'd they were not



BOOK not far from the King's Palace, surrounded  
 III. on all sides with many Nations and many  
 Cities, all their Enemies; that no one would  
 any longer supply them with Provisions; that they were distant from *Greece* above ten thousand Stadia, without a Guide to conduct them, and their Road thither intercepted by impassable Rivers; that even those *Barbarians*, who had serv'd under *Cyrus*, had betrayed them, and that they were now left alone without any Horse to assist them. By which it was evident, that if they overcame the Enemy, they could not destroy a Man of them in the Pursuit, and if they themselves were overcome, not one of them could escape. These Reflections so dishearten'd them, that few eat any thing that Evening, few made Fires, and many that Night never came to their <sup>1</sup> Quarters, <sup>2</sup> but laid themselves down, every Man in

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα. See the 19<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the 2<sup>d</sup> Book. Here it plainly signifies that part of the Camp, that was appointed for the Quarters of the several Companies, particularly of the heavy-arm'd Men. *D'Ablandart* has left it out, as he generally does this Expression, where he meets with it.

<sup>2</sup> Ανεπαύετο δὲ ὅπου ἐτύχανε ἕκαστος, ἢ δυνάμενοι καθύδεν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ πόθου πατρίδων, γονέων, γυναικῶν, παιδῶν, ἧς ἢ ποτε ἐνόμιζον ἔτι ὄψεσθαι. This Period, so beautifully melancholly, is cruelly mangled

in the place where he happen'd to be, un-  
able to sleep through Sorrow, and a Long-  
ing for their Country, their Parents, their  
Wives and Children, whom they never ex-  
pected to see again : In this Disposition of  
Mind, they all laid down to rest.

Book  
III.

THERE was in the Army an *Athenian*,  
by Name, *Xenophon*, who, without being  
a General, a Captain, or a Soldier, serv'd  
as a Voluntier : For having been long at-  
tach'd to *Proxenus* by the Rights of Hof-  
pitality, the latter sent for him from home,  
with a promise, if he came, to recommend  
him to *Cyrus*; from whom, he said, he ex-  
pected greater Advantages, than from his  
own Country. *Xenophon* having read the  
Letter, consulted *Socrates* the *Athenian*  
concerning the Voyage, who, <sup>3</sup> fearing lest  
his Country might look upon his Attachment  
to *Cyrus* as criminal, because that Prince was  
thought to have espous'd the Interest of the  
*Lacedæmonians* against the *Athenians* with

great

mangled by *d'Ablancourt*, whose Translation I shall  
also transcribe, that the Reader may compare it with  
the Original. *Ils étoient si abbatu qu'ils ne pouvoient  
reposer, comme ne devant plus revoir ni femme, ni enfants,  
ni patrie.*

<sup>3</sup> Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑποπτεύσας. See the Intro-  
duction.

BOOK great Warmth, advis'd *Xenophon* to go to

III. *Delphos*; and consult the God of the Place  
 concerning the matter. *Xenophon* went thither accordingly, and ask'd *Apollo*, to which of the Gods he should offer Sacrifice, and address his Prayers, to the end that he might perform the Voyage he propos'd in the best and most reputable manner, and, after a happy Issue of it, return with safety. *Apollo* answer'd, that he should sacrifice to the proper Gods. At his Return, he acquainted *Socrates* with this Answer; who blamed him, because he had not ask'd *Apollo* in the first place, whether it were better for him to undertake this Voyage, than to stay at home: but, having himself first determin'd to undertake it, he had consulted him concerning the most proper means of performing it with success: But, since says he, you have ask'd this, you ought to do what the God has commanded. *Xenophon* therefore, having offer'd Sacrifice to the Gods according to the Direction of the Oracle, set sail, and found *Proxenus* and *Cyrus* at *Sardes* ready to march towards the *Upper Asia*. Here he was presented to *Cyrus*, and *Proxenus* pressing him to stay, *Cyrus* was no less earnest in persuading him,  
 and

and assur'd him, that, as soon as the Expedition was at an end, he would dismiss him ; this he pretended was design'd against the *Pisidians*. Book III.

*XENOPHON* therefore thus imposed on, engag'd in the Enterprize, though *Proxenus* had no share in the Imposition, for none of the *Greeks*, besides *Clearchus*, knew it was intended against the King : But, when they arriv'd in *Cilicia*, every one saw \* the Expedition was design'd against him. Then, though they were terrified at the length of the way, and unwilling to go on, yet the greatest part of them, out of \* a regard

\* Ο Στόλῳ. See the 19<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the first Book.

\* Δι' αἰσχύνην δὲ ἀλλήλων. Where any number of Men are embarked in the same Design, they generally meet with success, but always deserve it, if they are once brought to be ambitious of one another's Praises, and to stand in awe of one another's Reproaches. *Homer*, who knew every Spring of the human Soul, was sensible how powerful a Motive this mutual Respect is to a proper Behaviour in a Day of Battle, when he makes *Agamemnon* say to his Men,

Ἀλλήλους τ' αἰδεῖσθε κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμῖνας·  
Αἰδομένων ἀνδρῶν πλέονες σοοί, ἢ πέφναι.

*Homer*  
Il. ε.

By the way, 'tis from this Sense of the word αἰδώς, that the *Latin* Authors have used *verecundia* to signify Respect.

BOOK regard both to one another, and to *Cyrus*, followed him : and *Xenophon* was of this number.

III. When the *Greeks* were in this distress, he had his share in the general Sorrow, and was unable to rest. However, getting a little sleep, he had a Dream. He thought it thunder'd, and that a Flash of Lightning fell upon his paternal House, which upon that was all in a blaze. Immediately he awoke in a fright, and look'd upon his Dream as happy in this respect, because, while he was engag'd in Difficulties and Dangers, he saw a great Light proceeding from *Jupiter*. On the other side, he was full of fear, when he consider'd that this Dream was sent by *Jupiter* the King, and that the Fire, by blazing all round him, might portend, that he should not be able to get out of the King's Territories, but should be surrounded on all sides with Difficulties.

HOWEVER the Events, which were consequent to this Dream, sufficiently explain the Nature of it ; for presently these Things happen'd : As soon as he awoke, the first Thought that occurred to him was this, Why do I lie here ? The Night wears away, and, as soon as the Day appears, it is probable  
the

The Enemy will come and attack us; and Book  
if we fall under the Power of the King, III.

“ what can preserve us from being Spectators of the most tragical Sight, from suffering the most cruel Torments, and from dying with the greatest Ignominy? Yet no one makes Preparation for Defence, or takes any Care about it: but here we lie, as if we were allowed to live in Quiet. From what City therefore do I expect a General to perform these things? What Age do I wait for? But, if I abandon my self to the Enemy this Day, I shall never live to see another. Upon this he rose, and first assembled the Captains who had serv'd under *Proxenus*: And, when they were together, he said to them, “ Gentle-  
“ men! I can neither sleep, (which, I suppose, is your case also) nor lie any longer,  
“ when I consider the Condition to which  
“ we are reduc'd. For it is plain the Enemy would not have declar'd War against  
“ us, had they not first made the necessary

N 2

“ Pre-

“ Τί ἔμποδὼν μὴ ἔχῃ πάντα μὲν τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐπιδόντας, πάντα δὲ τὰ δεινότερα παθόντας, ἵβριζομένους ἀποθανεῖν; Thus translated by d'Ablancourt, *quelle esperance nous reste-t'il que d'une mort cruelle?* So pathetick a Description of the Miseries, which our Author had then in view, deserv'd, methinks, that he should have been more particular in his Translation.

BOOK " Preparations: while, on our side, none  
III. " takes any care how we may resist them  
" in the best manner possible. If we are  
" remiss, and fall under the Power of  
" the King, what have we to expect from  
" him, who cut off the Head and Hand of  
" his own Brother, even after he was dead,  
" and fixed them upon a Stake? How then  
" will he treat us, who have no support,  
" and have made war against him, with a  
" design to reduce him, from the Condi-  
" tion of a King, to that of a Subject,  
" and, if it lay in our power, to put him  
" to death? Will he not try the power  
" of every Extremity, to the End, that, by  
" torturing us in the most ignominious  
" manner, he may deter all Men from ever  
" making war against him? We ought there-  
" fore to do every thing rather than fall  
" into his Hands. While the Peace lasted,  
" I own, I never ceas'd to consider ourselves,  
" as extremely miserable, and the King,  
" with those who belong'd to him, equally  
" happy: When I cast my Eyes around, and  
" beheld how spacious and beautiful a Coun-  
" try they were Masters of, how they a-  
" bounded in Provisions, Slaves, Cattle,  
" Gold, and rich Apparel; and on the  
" other

“ other hand, reflected on the Situation of BOOK  
 “ our Men, who had no Share of all these III.  
 “ Advantages, without paying for them, }  
 “ which I knew very few were any longer  
 “ able to do, and that our Oaths forbid  
 “ us to provide ourselves by any other  
 “ means ; when I reflected, I say, on these  
 “ things, I was more afraid of Peace than  
 “ now I am of War. But, since they have  
 “ put an end to the Peace, there seems to  
 “ be an end also both of their Insolence,  
 “ and our Jealousy : And these Advantages  
 “ lie now as a Prize between us, to be  
 “ given to the bravest : In this <sup>7</sup> Combat  
 “ the Gods are the Umpires, who will,  
 “ with Justice, declare in our favour ; for  
 “ our Enemies have provok’d them by Per-  
 “ jury, while we, surrounded with every  
 “ thing to tempt us, have, with Constancy,  
 “ abstain’d from all, that we might pre-  
 “ serve our Oaths inviolate : So that, in my  
 “ opinion, we have reason to engage in this  
 “ Combat with greater Confidence than  
 “ they. Besides, our Bodies are more patient  
 “ of Cold, of Heat, and of Labour than theirs ;

N 3

“ and

<sup>7</sup> Ἀγωνοθέται δ’ οἱ θεοί εἰσι. This alludes to the Umpires, who were chosen to preside at the Olympick and other Games : This Allusion, which gives great Beauty to the whole Passage, is entirely left out by *d’Ablancourt*.



BOOK “ and our Minds, with the divine Assistance,  
 III. “ more resolv’d: And if, as before, the Gods  
 “ vouchsafe to grant us the Victory, their  
 “ Men will be more obnoxious to Wounds  
 “ and Death. But possibly others may also  
 “ entertain these Thoughts: For Heaven’s  
 “ sake then, let us not stay till those who do,  
 “ come and encourage us to glorious Ac-  
 “ tions, but let us prevent them, and excite  
 “ even them to Virtue. Shew yourselves  
 “ the bravest of all the Captains, and the  
 “ most worthy to command of all the Ge-  
 “ nerals. As for me, <sup>8</sup> if you desire to lead  
 “ the way in this, I will follow you with  
 “ Cheerfulness; and if you appoint me to  
 “ be your Leader, I <sup>9</sup> shall not excuse my-  
 “ self by reason of my Age, but think my-  
 “ self even in the Vigour of it to repel an  
 “ Injury.” Thus he spoke.

THE Captains, hearing this, all desir’d he would take upon him the Command, except a certain Person, by Name *Apollonides*, who affected to speak in the *Bæotian* Dialect.

This

<sup>8</sup> Εἰ μὲν ἐθέλετε ἐξορμῆν ἐπὶ ταῦτα, The Reader will observe, that ἐξορμάω is here used neutrally, it was used actively a few Lines above.

<sup>9</sup> Οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικίαν. See the 10<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the second Book, and particularly the Life of *Xenophon*.

This Man said, that, whoever propos'd any other means of returning to *Greece*, than by endeavouring to persuade the King to consent to it, talk'd impertinently; and at the same time began to recount the Difficulties they were engag'd in. But *Xenophon* interrupting him, said, " Thou most admirable Man! who art both insensible of what you see, and forgetful of what you hear. You were present, when the King, after the Death of *Cyrus*, exulting in his Victory, sent to us to deliver up our Arms, and when, instead of delivering them up, we march'd out ready to give him Battle, and encamp'd near him, what did he leave undone by sending Embassadors, begging Peace, and supplying us with Provisions, till he had obtain'd it? And afterwards, when our Generals and Captains went to confer with them, as you advise us to do, without their Arms, relying on the Peace, what has been their Treatment? Are not these unfortunate Men daily scourg'd, <sup>10</sup> tortur'd, and

<sup>10</sup> ΚΕΝΤΥΜΕΝΟΙ. I have ventur'd to depart from the *Latin* Translators in rendering this Word; *Leunclavius* has said *vulneribus affecti*, and *Hutchinson* *vulnera passi*; *d'Ablancourt* has left it out: I have translated it *tortur'd*; in the same Sense *Xenophon*, a little above, speaking of the Usage the *Greeks* were to expect, if

BOOK “ and insulted, and forbid even to die, though,  
 III. “ I dare say, they earnestly desire it? When,  
 “ you know all this, can you say that those,  
 “ who exhort us to defend ourselves, talk  
 “ impertinently, and dare you advise us to  
 “ sue again to the King for favour? For  
 “ my part, Gentlemen! I think we ought  
 “ not to admit this Man any longer into  
 “ our Company, but use him as he deserves,  
 “ by removing him from his Command,  
 “ and employing him in carrying our Bag-  
 “ gage: for, by being a *Greek* with such a  
 “ Mind, he is a Shame to his Country,  
 “ and dishonours all *Greece*.”

THEN *Agasias* of *Stymphalus* said, “ This  
 “ Man has no relation to *Bæotia*, or to any  
 “ other Part of *Greece*; for to my knowledge,  
 “ both his Ears are bor’d, like a *Lydian*.”  
 Which was found to be true: so they expell’d  
 him their Company. The rest went to all the  
 Quarters of the Army, and where any Gene-  
 rals

they fell into the King’s hands, says ἡμᾶς τὰ αἰσχίστα  
 αἰκισάμενοι, and a little before that πάντα τὰ δεινότα-  
 τα παθόντας. It is from this Sense of the word κεντέω,  
 that *Suidas* tells us a Thief is called κέντρων, because,  
 as he says, κέντρα were part of their Torture. κέν-  
 τρων ὁ κλέπτης· διὰ τὸ βασανιζομένοις τοῖς κλέπταις καὶ  
 κέντρα προσφέρεισθαι.

rals were left, they call'd them up, where they were wanting, their Lieutenants, and where there were any Captains left, they call'd up them. When they were all assembled, they plac'd themselves <sup>11</sup> before the Quarter, where the heavy-arm'd Men lay encamp'd; the Number of the Generals and Captains amounting to about a hundred. While this was doing, it was near Midnight. Then *Hieronimus* of *Elis*, the Oldest of all the Captains, who had serv'd under *Proxenus*, began thus: "Gentlemen!  
 " we have thought proper, in the present  
 " Juncture, both to assemble ourselves,  
 " and call you together, to the end we  
 " may, if possible, consider of something  
 " to our Advantage. Do you, O *Xenophon*! represent to them what you have  
 " laid before us." Upon this *Xenophon* said;

" WE are all sensible that the King, and  
 " *Tissaphernes*, have caus'd as many of us as  
 " they could to be apprehended, and it is  
 " plain they design, by the same treacherous  
 " means, if they can, to destroy the rest.  
 " We

<sup>11</sup> Εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν τῶν ὅπλων. See the 19<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the 2<sup>d</sup> Book.

BOOK “ We ought, therefore, in my opinion, to  
 III. “ attempt every thing, not only to prevent  
 “ our falling under their Power, but, if  
 “ possible, to subject them to ours. Know  
 “ then, that, being assembled in so great  
 “ Numbers, you have the fairest of all Op-  
 “ portunities ; for all the Soldiers fix their  
 “ Eyes on you: if they see you dishearten’d,  
 “ their Courage will forsake them ; but, if  
 “ you appear resolute yourselves, and ex-  
 “ hort them to do their Duty, be assur’d,  
 “ they will follow you, and endeavour to  
 “ imitate your Example. It seems also rea-  
 “ sonable that you should excel them in  
 “ some degree, for you are their Generals,  
 “ their Leaders, and their Captains: And,  
 “ as in time of Peace you have the Ad-  
 “ vantage of them both in Riches and Ho-  
 “ nours, <sup>12</sup> so now in time of War, you  
 “ ought

<sup>12</sup> Καὶ νῦν τοίνυν, ἐπεὶ πόλεμός ἐστιν, ἄξιόν δὲ ὑμᾶς  
 αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους τε τῷ πλήθει εἶναι, καὶ προβυλεύειν τούτων,  
 καὶ προπονεῖν, ἣν πᾶς δέη. D’Ablancourt has left out  
 every Tittle of this fine Period, the reason he gives for  
 it in his own Words, is, *parce qu’elle est déjà exprimée* :  
 I am afraid the Reader will not think that Reason  
 to have much weight. The Attick Writers, when  
 they speak of their own Affairs, always use the word  
 προβύλευμα, for an Act pass’d by the Senate, before  
 it was sent down to the People ; for the same reason  
 the Greek Writers of the Roman History call a *Senatus*  
*consultum* προβύλευμα, and this Sense seems to agree  
 better

“ ought to challenge the Pre-eminence in Book  
 “ Courage, in Counsel, and, if necessary, III.  
 “ in Labour. In the first place then, it  
 “ is my Opinion, that you will do great  
 “ service to the Army, if you take care  
 “ that Generals and Captains are immedi-  
 “ ately chosen in the room of those who  
 “ are slain: Since without Chiefs nothing  
 “ either great or profitable can indeed be  
 “ atchiev’d upon any occasion, but least of  
 “ all in War. For, as Discipline preserves  
 “ Armies, so the want of it has already  
 “ been fatal to many. After you have ap-  
 “ pointed as many Commanders, as are  
 “ necessary, I should think it highly sea-  
 “ sonable for you to assemble and encou-  
 “ rage the rest of the Soldiers; for no  
 “ doubt you must have observed, as well as I,  
 “ how dejectedly they came to their Quarters,  
 “ and how heavily they went upon Guard :  
 “ So that, while they are in this Disposition,  
 “ I don’t know what Service can, either  
 “ by

better with διαφέρειν and ἐπλεονεκτεῖτε, which our Author applies to the Generals a few Lines above, and which seem very naturally to introduce ἀμέλυνος εἶναι, προβυλεύειν, and προπονεῖν : The Latin Translators have given it another Sense; *Leunclavius* has said *horum causâ Consilia suscipienda*, and *Hutchinson pro iis Consilia capere*; the Decision therefore is left to the Reader,

BOOK “ by Night or Day, be expected from them.

III. “ They have at present nothing before their  
“ Eyes, but Sufferings, if any one could  
“ turn their Thoughts to Action, it would  
“ greatly encourage them. For you know,  
“ that, neither Numbers nor Strength give  
“ the Victory : but that side which, with  
“ the Assistance of the Gods, attacks with  
“ the greatest Resolution, is generally ir-  
“ resistable. I have taken notice also, that  
“ those Men who in War seek to preserve  
“ their Lives at any rate, commonly die with  
“ Shame and Ignominy : while those who  
“ look upon Death as common to all, and  
“ unavoidable, and are only solicitous to  
“ die with honour, oftner arrive at old Age,  
“ and while they live, live happier. As  
“ therefore we are sensible of these things, it  
“ behoves us at this critical juncture, both  
“ to act with Courage ourselves, and to ex-  
“ hort the rest to do the same.” Here he  
ended.

AFTER him *Cheirisophus* said : “ Before  
“ this time, O *Xenophon* ! I knew no more  
“ of you than that you were an *Athenian* :  
“ but now I commend both your Words  
“ and

“ and Actions, and with we had many in **BOOK**  
“ the Army like you ; for it would be a **III.**  
“ general good. And now, Gentlemen !  
“ says he, let us lose no time : Those  
“ of you, who want Commanders, depart  
“ immediately and chuse them ; and when  
“ that is done, come into the middle of  
“ the Camp, and bring them with you.  
“ After that, we will call the rest of the  
“ Soldiers hither : and let *Tolmides* the  
“ Cryer, says he, attend.” Saying this,  
he rose up, that what was necessary, might  
be transacted without delay. After this *Ti-*  
*masion* a *Dardanian* was chosen General in  
the room of *Clearchus*, *Xanthicles* an *A-*  
*chaian* in the room of *Socrates*, *Cleanor* an  
*Orchomenian* in the room of *Agius* an *Arca-*  
*dian*, *Philysius* an *Achaian* in the room of  
*Menon*, and *Xenophon* an *Athenian* in that  
of *Proxenus*.

As soon as the Election was over, it be-  
ing now near break of Day, the Officers ad-  
vanc'd to the middle of the Camp, and  
resolv'd first to appoint Out-guards, and  
then to call the Soldiers together. When  
they were all assembled, *Cheirisophus*, the  
*Lacedæmonian* first got up, and spoke as  
follows :



BOOK follows: "Soldiers! we are at present un-

III. "der great Difficulties, being depriv'd of such  
 "Generals, Captains, and Soldiers: Besides,  
 "the Forces of *Ariæus*, who were before  
 "our Auxiliaries, have betrayed us. How-  
 "ever, we ought to emerge out of our pre-  
 "sent Circumstances, like brave Men, and  
 "not be cast down, but endeavour to re-  
 "deem ourselves by a glorious Victory. If  
 "that is impossible, let us die with honour,  
 "and never fall alive under the power of  
 "the Enemy: for, in that case, we should  
 "suffer such things, as I hope the Gods  
 "keep in store for them."

AFTER him *Cleanor* of *Orchomenus* rose  
 up, and said, "You see, O Soldiers! the Per-  
 "jury and Impiety of the King, as well as the  
 "Perfidy of *Tissaphernes*, who amus'd us  
 "by saying that he liv'd in the Neighbour-  
 "hood of *Greece*, and should, of all things,  
 "be most desirous to carry us in safety thither:  
 "It was He that gave us his Oath to perform  
 "this, He that pledg'd his Faith, He that  
 "betrayed us, and caus'd our Generals to  
 "be apprehended: And this he did in de-  
 "fiance even of <sup>13</sup> *Jupiter* the Avenger of  
 "violated

<sup>13</sup> Διὰ ξένιον. See the 12<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the first Book.

“ violated Hospitality; for, having enter- BOOK  
 “ rain’d *Clearchus* at his Table, by these III.  
 “ Arts he first deceiv’d, and then destroy’d  
 “ our Generals. *Ariæus* also, whom we  
 “ offer’d to place upon the Throne, with  
 “ whom we were engag’d by a mutual Ex-  
 “ change of Faith not to betray one an-  
 “ other; this Man, I say, without either  
 “ Fear of the Gods, or Respect for the Me-  
 “ mory of *Cyrus*, though, of all others the  
 “ most esteem’d by him when alive, now  
 “ revolts to his greatest Enemies, and en-  
 “ deavours to distress us, who were his  
 “ Friends. But of these may the Gods take  
 “ Vengeance! It behoves us, who have these  
 “ things before our Eyes, not only to take  
 “ care that these Men do not again betray us,  
 “ but also to fight with all possible Bravery,  
 “ and submit to what the Gods shall de-  
 “ termine.”

THEN *Xenophon* rose up, dress’d for the  
 War in the most gorgeous Armour he could  
 provide, for he thought, if the Gods granted  
 him Victory, these Ornaments would be-  
 come a Conqueror, and if he were to die,  
 they would decorate his Fall. He be-  
 gan in the following manner: “ *Cleanor*  
 “ has

BOOK “ has laid before you the Perjury and Treachery of the *Barbarians*: which, to be sure, you yourselves are no Strangers to. “ If therefore we have any Thoughts of “ trying their Friendship again, we must be “ under great Concern, when we consider “ what our Generals have suffer’d, who by “ trusting to their Faith, put themselves in “ their power. But, if we propose to take “ Revenge of them with our Swords for “ what they have done, and persecute them “ for the future with War in every shape; “ we have, with the Assistance of the Gods, “ many fair Prospects of Safety.” While he was speaking, one of the Company sneez’d, upon this the Soldiers all at once ador’d the God. Then *Xenophon* said, “ Since, “ O Soldiers! while we were speaking of “ Safety, *Jupiter* the Preserver, sent us “ an <sup>14</sup> Omen, I think we ought to make “ a Vow to offer Sacrifice to this God, in

“ Thanksgiving

<sup>14</sup> Οἰωνὸς τῷ Διὸς τῷ Σωτῆρι. Οἰωνός is here taken for the Omen itself; in which Sense we find it in that noble Sentiment of *Hector* to *Polydamas*,

Homer  
Il. μ.

Εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάσης.

Anthol.  
2 B. 12 c.

This Superstition of looking upon sneezing as ominous, is very ancient, and to be met with in many *Greek* Authors; possibly it may have given rise to the modern Custom of saying *God bless you!* upon that occasion.

“ Thanksgiving for our Preservation in that Book  
 “ Place, where we first reach the Territo- III.  
 “ ries of our Friends; and also to the rest  
 “ of the Gods, in the best manner we are  
 “ able. And whoever, adds he, is of this  
 “ Opinion, let him hold up his Hand:” and  
 they all held up their Hands; then made  
 their Vows, and sung the Pæan. After they  
 had performed their Duty to the Gods, he  
 went on thus :

“ I was saying that we had many fair Pro-  
 “ spects of Safety. In the first place we have  
 “ observ’d the Oaths, to which we called the  
 “ Gods to witness, while our Enemies have  
 “ been guilty of Perjury, and have violated  
 “ both their Oaths and the Peace. This be-  
 “ ing so, we have reason to expect the Gods  
 “ will declare against them, and combat on  
 “ our side; and They have it in their power,  
 “ when they think fit, soon to humble the  
 “ High, and, with ease, to exalt the Low,  
 “ though in distress. Upon this occasion, I  
 “ shall put you in mind of the Dangers our  
 “ Ancestors were involv’d in, in order to con-  
 “ vince you that it behoves you to be brave,  
 “ and that those who are so, are preserv’d  
 “ by the Gods amidst the greatest Calami-  
 VOL. I. O ties :

Book " ties: " For, when the *Persians*, and  
 III. " their Allies, came with a vast Army to  
 " destroy *Athens*, the *Athenians*, by dar-  
 " ing to oppose them, overcame them:  
 " And having made a Vow to *Diana* to  
 " sacrifice as many Goats to her as they  
 " killed of the Enemy, when they could  
 " not find enow, they resolv'd to sacrifice  
 " five hundred every Year ; and even to this  
 " Day they offer Sacrifice in Thanksgiving  
 " for that Victory. " Afterwards, when  
 " *Xerxes*

Herodotus Expedition of the *Persians* against the *Greeks*, when  
 in Erato. under the Command of *Datis* and *Artaphernes*, they  
 Ib. in ; invaded their Country, and were defeated by *Miltiades*  
 Thalia. at the Battle of *Marathon*. This Invasion seems to  
 have been occasion'd by the twenty Ships which the *A-*  
*thenians* sent to *Miletus*, under the Command of *Melan-*  
*thius*, at the Instigation of *Aristagoras*, to assist the  
*Ionians* against the *Persians* ; this, and their peremptory  
 Refusal to receive *Hippias*, their Tyrant, who had  
 fled to *Persia* for Refuge, provok'd *Darius Hystaspes*  
 to send a powerful Fleet to invade *Athens*, the Success  
 of which has been mention'd. In this Defeat the  
*Persians* lost six thousand four hundred Men, and the  
*Athenians* with their Allies, the *Plataeans*, only one  
 hundred and ninety-two : but on the *Persian* side fell  
*Hippias*, and lost that Life in the Field, which had  
 been long due to the Sword of Justice. This Battle  
 was fought on the sixth Day of the Attick Month  
*Boëdromion*, (with us, *September*) the third Month from  
 the Summer Solstice, and the third Year of the seventy-  
 second Olympiad, *Pheonippus* being Archon, and four  
 Years before the Death of *Darius*.

Thucyd. " *Επειτα ὅτε ἔρχετο*. This is the second Expe-  
 1 B. dition of the *Persians* against the *Greeks*, in which  
*Xerxes*

Ib. in  
 Erato.

Plutarch  
 in Camil-  
 lus.

Arundel  
 Marble  
 Ep. 62.

Severus  
 Sulpicius,  
 2 B. Holy  
 History.

“ *Xerxes* invaded *Greece* with an innumer- Book  
 “ able Army, then it was that our Ancestors III.  
 “ overcame the Ancestors of these very Men,  
 “ both by Sea and Land; of which the Tro-  
 “ phies, that were erected upon that occasion,  
 “ are lasting Monuments still to be seen. But  
 “ of all Monuments the most considerable  
 “ is the Liberty of those Cities, in which  
 “ you have receiv’d your Birth and Educa-  
 “ tion : for you pay Adoration to no other

O 2

“ Master

*Xerxes* himself commanded : The Year in which this was undertaken, was the tenth from that, in which the Battle of *Marathon* was fought. *Xenophon* had reason to call this Army innumerable, since *Herodotus* Herodotus in Poly-hymnia. makes it amount to about three Millions; which Number is express’d in the Epitaph that was inscrib’d on the Monument erected at *Thermopylae*, in honour of those *Greeks* who died there in the Service of their Country. This Inscription says, that in that Place four thousand *Peloponnesians* engag’d three Millions of the Enemy; the Words are these,

Μυριάσι ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο  
 Ἐκ Πελοποννήσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

This seems very authentick; though I am sensible that *Diodorus Siculus* has διηκοσίαις instead of τριηκοσίαις : *Sicul. 2 B.* However, an Army of two Millions of Men will; I *Herodotus* am afraid, scarce gain that general Credit, which pos- in Urania.  
 sibly it may deserve. The Victories here hinted at Ib. in Cal-  
 by *Xenophon*, which the *Athenians*, with their Allies, liope.  
 gain’d over the *Persians*, by Sea and Land, were, *Ar-* Plutarch  
*temisum* and *Salamine*, *Plataea* and *Mycalè*, the two in Camil-  
 last being gain’d the same Day, that is, the third of lus, and of  
 the *Attick* Month *Boëdromion*, *September*; a Day, it the Glory  
 seems, auspicious to the Cause of Liberty; the first in of the A-  
*Bœotia*, and the last at *Mycalè*, a Promontory of thenians.  
*Ionia*. Herodotus in Calliope.

BOOK “ Master but the Gods. From such Ancest-  
 III. “ tors are you descended : neither can I  
 “ say that you are a dishonour to them,  
 “ since, within these few Days, you ” en-  
 “ gag’d the Descendents of those Men, many  
 “ times superior to you in number, and,  
 “ with the Assistance of the Gods, defeated  
 “ them. Then you fought to place Cy-  
 “ rus on the Throne, and in his Cause  
 “ fought bravely : Now your own Safety  
 “ is at stake, you ought certainly to shew  
 “ more Courage and Alacrity. You have  
 “ also reason now to entertain a greater  
 “ Confidence in your own Strength than  
 “ before ; for though you were then unac-  
 “ quainted with the Enemy, and saw them  
 “ before you in vast numbers, however you  
 “ dared to attack them with the Spirit of  
 “ your Ancestors : whereas now you have  
 “ had Experience of them, and are sen-  
 “ sible that, though they exceed you many  
 “ times in number, they dare not stand be-  
 “ fore you, why should you any longer  
 “ fear

” ΑΝΤΙΤΑΞΆΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΑΤΟΙΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΧΕΙΝΩΝ ΕΣΥΝΟΙΣ—ΕΝΙΧΆΤΕ.  
 This is ridiculously translated by *d’Ablancourt*, *vous avez vaincu les Descendants de Xerxes en Bataille rangée*. *Xerxes* must indeed have had a numerous Posterity, if the whole Army of *Artaxerxes* were his Descendents ; but οἱ ἐχέινων ἐσυνοὶ visibly signifies the Descendents of those *Persians* who were defeated under *Xerxes*.

“ fear them? Neither ought you to look Book  
 “ upon it as a Disadvantage, that the *Bar-* III.  
 “ *barians* belonging to *Cyrus*, who, be-  
 “ fore fought on your side, have now for-  
 “ saken you; for they are yet worse Sol-  
 “ diers than those we have already over-  
 “ come. They have left us therefore, and  
 “ are fled to them: and it is our Advantage  
 “ that those who are the first to fly, should  
 “ be found in the Enemy’s Army rather  
 “ than in our own. If any of you are  
 “ dishearten’d because we have no Horse,  
 “ in which the Enemy abound, let them  
 “ consider that ten thousand Horse are no  
 “ more than ten thousand Men; for no one  
 “ was ever killed in an Action by the Bite  
 “ or Kick of a Horse. The Men do every  
 “ thing that is done in Battle. But further,  
 “ we are steadier upon the Ground than they  
 “ on Horseback; for they, hanging upon  
 “ their Horses, are afraid not only of us, but  
 “ also of falling; while we, standing firm-  
 “ ly upon the Ground, strike those who  
 “ approach us, with greater Force, and a  
 “ surer Aim. The Horse have but one  
 “ Advantage over us, they can fly with  
 “ greater Security. But if you are confi-  
 “ dent of your Strength in Battle, yet look



BOOK “ upon it as a Grievance that *Tissaphernes*  
 III. “ will no longer conduct us, or the King  
 { “ supply us with a Market. Consider which  
 “ is the most advantageous, to have *Tissa-*  
 “ *phernes* for our Conductor, who, 'tis plain  
 “ has betrayed us, or such Guides as we  
 “ shall make choice of, who will be sensi-  
 “ ble that, if they mislead us, they must  
 “ answer it with their Lives. Consider also  
 “ whether it is better for us to purchase,  
 “ in the Markets they provide, small Mea-  
 “ sures for great Sums of Money, which  
 “ we are no longer able to furnish, or, if  
 “ we conquer, to make use of no other  
 “ Measure but our Will. If you are con-  
 “ vinc'd that these things are best in the  
 “ way they are in, but think the Rivers  
 “ are not to be repass'd, and that you have  
 “ been greatly deluded in passing them, con-  
 “ sider with yourselves, whether the *Barba-*  
 “ *rians* have not taken very wrong Measures,  
 “ even in this : For all Rivers, though at a  
 “ distance from their Springs, they may be  
 “ impassable, yet if you go to their Sources,  
 “ you will find them so easily fordable, as  
 “ not even to wet your Knees. But, if the  
 “ Rivers refuse us Passage, and no Guide  
 “ appears to conduct us, even in that case  
 “ we

“ we ought not to be dishearten’d : for we Book  
 “ know that the *Myfians*, who are certain- III.  
 “ ly not braver Men, than ourselves, inhabit }  
 “ many large and rich Cities in the King’s  
 “ Territories against his Will. The *Pisidians*,  
 “ we also know, do the same. We have our  
 “ selves seen the *Lycaonians*, who, after  
 “ they had made themselves Masters of the  
 “ strong Places that command the Plains,  
 “ enjoy the Product of the Country. And  
 “ I should think we ought not yet to be-  
 “ tray a desire of returning home ; but pre-  
 “ pare every thing as if we propos’d to set-  
 “ tle here : for I am well assur’d that the  
 “ King would grant many Guides to the  
 “ *Myfians*, and give them many Hostages,  
 “ as a Security, to conduct them out of his  
 “ Territories without fraud ; he would even  
 “ level the Roads for them, if they insist’d  
 “ upon being sent away in Chariots. And  
 “ I am convinc’d he would, with great  
 “ Alacrity, do the same for us, if he  
 “ saw us dispos’d to stay here : But I am  
 “ afraid, if once we learn to live in Idle-  
 “ ness, and Plenty, and converse with the  
 “ fair and stately Wives and Daughters of  
 “ the *Medes* and *Persians*, we shall, like

BOOK " the <sup>18</sup> *Lotophagi*, forget to return home.

III. " It seems therefore to me both just and

" reasonable

<sup>18</sup> Ὡςπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι. This Tradition seems deriv'd from *Homer*, who says that those who eat of the Lotus never think of returning home,

Homer  
Odyss. I.

Τῶν δ' ὅστις λωτοῖο φάγοι μελινθεῖα καρπὸν,  
Οὐκ ἔτ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι πάλιν ἤθελεν, εἰδὲ νέεσθαι.

*Eustathius* in his Explication of this Passage quotes many Authors, but, I think, none whose Account of the Lotus seems so satisfactory as that of *Herodotus*, in *Euterpe*. who says that when the Nile overflows the Country,

there grow in the Water great Quantities of Lillies, which the *Egyptians* call Lotus's; these, he says, they dry in the Sun, and of the Heads of them, which are like the Heads of Poppies, they make Bread; the Root of it, he says, is also eatable and sweet; he adds, that it is round, and about the Size of an Apple.

*Theoph.* 4 B. c. 3. But there is another kind of Lotus, describ'd by *Theophrastus*, and, after him, by *Pliny*. This is a Tree of the Size of a Pear-Tree, or something less, ἐνμήγε-

θες, ἡλίκου ἀπὸ, ἢ μικρὸν ἑλαττον, *magnitudo quæ Piro*, says *Pliny*; the Leaves are jagged, like those of the *Ilex*, φύλλον δὲ ἐντομαῖς ἔχον, ἢ περιώδες, thus translated by *Pliny*, *incisuræ folio crebriores, quæ Ilicis videntur*. *Theophrastus*, and his Translator *Pliny*, thus pursue the Description; the Wood is black, τὸ μὲν ξύλον, μέλαν, *ligno color niger*. There are different Kinds of this Plant distinguish'd by the difference of their Fruit, γένη δὲ αὐτοῦ πλείω διαφορὰς ἔχοντα τοῖς καρποῖς, *differentiæ plures eæque maxime fructibus fiunt*. The Fruit is like a Bean, and changes its Colour, as it ripens, like Grapes: The Fruit of this Lotus grows opposite to one another, like Myrtle-Berries, and thick upon the Boughs; ὁ δὲ καρπὸς ἡλίκοις κῶαμοις πεπαίνεται δὲ, ὥσπερ οἱ βότρυες, μεταβάλλον τὰς χροιάς, φύεται δὲ καθ' ἅπερ τὰ μύρτα παράλληλα· πυκνὸς ἐστὶ τῶν βλαστῶν. *Magnitudo huic Fabæ, color ante maturitatem alius atque alius, sicut in uvis; nascitur densus in ramis*

“ reasonable that we first endeavour to return Book  
 “ to Greece, and to our Families, and let our III.

“ Country-

*ramis myrti modo: Theophrastus adds that the Fruit is sweet, pleasant to the Taste, and without any ill Quality; on the contrary, that it helps Digestion: The most delicious are those that have no Stone, which one of the Kinds has not; he says the Inhabitants also make Wine of them, γλυκύς ἡδύς καὶ αἰσινὴς καὶ ἐπιπρὸς τὴν κοιλίαν ἀγαθόν· ἡδύων δὲ ὁ ἀπύρηνος ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοιαῦτον γένος· ποιῶσι δὲ καὶ οἶνον ἐξ αὐτῶν. Tam dulci ibi Cibo, ut nomen etiam genti terræque dederit, nimis hospitali advenarum oblivione Patriæ. Ferunt ventris non sentire morbum, qui eum mandant. Melior sine interiore Nucleo, qui in altero genere offeus videtur; vinum quoque exprimitur illi.* I have been so particular in translating the Description of this Plant, because I have never yet met with an Account of it in any modern Writer, that agreed with this given by *Theophrastus*; and, what is more extraordinary, *Monsieur Maillet*, who was many Years Consul at *Cairo*, says he never saw any Plant in that Country, that had any Resemblance to the Lotus of the Ancients: I have read the Description of the Lotus given by the polite and learned Author of the *Spectacle de la Nature*, which agrees, no doubt, very well with the *Nelumbo* of the *East-Indies*, but, I believe, he will own, that it does not, in all respects, answer this Description of *Theophrastus*. But there seems to be a third kind of Lotus, upon which the Horses belonging to the Companions of *Achilles* fed during his Inaction,

—— Ἰπποὶ δὲ παρ’ ἄρμασιν οἷσιν ἕκαστος  
 Λωτὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι, ἐλεόθρεπτον τε σέλινον  
 ἔσασσαν.

Homer  
 II. B.

This is thought to be a kind of Trefoil, and this, I imagine, was the Lotus that, together with Saffron and Hyacinths, form’d the Couch of *Jupiter* and *Juno* upon a very amiable Occasion,

Τοῖσι δ’ ὑπὸ χθῶν Δῖα φύεν νεοθηλέα ποίην,  
 Λωτὸν θ’ ἐρσέντα, ἰδὲ κρόκου, ἡδ’ ὑάκινθου  
 Πυκνὸν καὶ μαλακόν.

II. ε.

BOOK " Countrymen see that they live in volun-  
III. " tary Poverty, since it is in their power to  
" bring their Poor hither, and enrich them :  
" For all these Advantages, Gentlemen! are  
" the Rewards of Victory. The next thing,  
" I shall mention to you, is in what manner we  
" may march with the greatest Security, and,  
" if necessary, fight with the greatest Advan-  
" tage. In the first place, continu'd he, I think  
" we ought to burn all the Carriages, that  
" the Care of them may not influence our  
" march, but that we may be directed in it  
" by the Advantage of the Army. After  
" that, we ought to burn our Tents also ;  
" for they are troublesome to carry, and  
" of no use either in fighting, or in sup-  
" plying ourselves with Provisions. Let us  
" also rid ourselves of all superfluous Bag-  
" gage, and reserve only those things, that  
" are of use in War, or for our Meat and  
" Drink : To the end as many of us, as  
" possible, may march in their Ranks, and  
" as few be employed in carrying the Bag-  
" gage: For the Conquer'd, you know,  
" have nothing they can call their own ; and,  
" if we conquer, we ought to look upon  
" the Enemy as Servants to be employed in  
" carrying our Baggage. It now remains  
" that

“ that I speak to that which is, in my opi- BOOK  
 “ nion, of the greatest Consequence. You III.  
 “ see that even the Enemy did not dare to  
 “ declare War against us, ’till they had seiz’d  
 “ our Generals, for they were sensible, that,  
 “ while we had Commanders, and yielded  
 “ Obedience to them, we were able to con-  
 “ quer them : but, having seiz’d our Com-  
 “ manders, they concluded that we should,  
 “ from a want of Command and Discipline,  
 “ be destroy’d. It is necessary therefore that  
 “ our present Generals should be more care-  
 “ ful than the former, and the Soldiers more  
 “ observant, and more obedient to Them  
 “ than to their Predecessors; and, if you  
 “ make an Order, that whoever of you hap-  
 “ pens to be present, shall assist the Com-  
 “ mander in chastising those who are guilty  
 “ of Disobedience, it will be the most ef-  
 “ fectual means to frustrate the Designs of  
 “ the Enemy: for from this Day, instead of  
 “ one *Clearchus*, they will find <sup>19</sup> a thousand,  
 “ who

<sup>19</sup> Μυρίας ὄψονται. Μυρία πολλά, καὶ ἀναριθμητά·  
 μύρια δὲ, ὁ ἀριθμός. *Suidas*. *Sexcenti* is used in the  
 same manner in *Latin*, to signify an indefinite Number;  
 I have translated *μυρίας* a thousand, because I think our  
 Language makes use of this Number in that Sense: In  
*French* *cent* has the same effect, for which reason I was  
 surpriz’d *d’Ablancourt* did not say *ils en verront renâître*  
*cent*, rather than *dix mille*.

BOOK " who will suffer no Man to neglect his  
 III. " Duty. But it is now Time to make an  
 { " End, for it is probable the Enemy will  
 " presently appear ; and, if you approve of  
 " any thing I have said, ratify it immediate-  
 " ly, that you may put it in Execution. But,  
 " if any other Person thinks of any thing  
 " more proper, though a private Man, let  
 " him propose it ; for our Preservation is  
 " a general Concern."

AFTER that *Cheirisophus* said, " If it is  
 " necessary to add any thing to what *Xeno-*  
 " *phon* has laid before us, it may be done  
 " by and by : At present I think we ought to  
 " ratify what he has propos'd, and, whoever  
 " is of that opinion, let him hold up his  
 " Hand : " and they all held up their Hands.  
 Then *Xenophon*, rising up again, said, " Hear  
 " then, O Soldiers ! what, in my opinion,  
 " we are to expect. It is evident that we  
 " must go to some place where we may  
 " get Provisions. I am inform'd there are  
 " many fair Villages not above twenty Sta-  
 " dia from hence : I should not therefore be  
 " surpriz'd if the Enemy, like cowardly  
 " Dogs that follow, and, if they can, bite  
 " those

“ those who pass by, but fly from those BOOK  
 “ who pursue them, should also follow us III.  
 “ when we begin to move. Possibly there-  
 “ fore we shall march with greater Safety,  
 “ if we dispose the heavy-arm'd Men in an  
 “ hollow Square, to the end the Baggage,  
 “ and the great number of those who be-  
 “ long to it, may be in greater Security.  
 “ If then we now appoint the proper Persons  
 “ to command the Front, each of the Flanks,  
 “ and the Rear, we shall not have to con-  
 “ sider of this, when the Enemy appears;  
 “ but shall presently be ready to execute  
 “ what we have resolv'd. If any other Per-  
 “ son has any thing better to propose, let  
 “ it be otherwise: If not, let *Cheirisophus*  
 “ command the Front, \*° since he is a *La-*  
 “ *cedæmonian*; let two of the oldest Ge-  
 “ nerals command the Flanks; and *Timasion*  
 “ and myself, who are the youngest, will,  
 “ for the present, take charge of the Rear.  
 “ Afterwards, when we have had Experience  
 “ of this Disposition, we may consider what  
 “ is best to be done, as occasion offers. If  
 “ any one thinks of any thing better, let  
 “ him

\*° Επειδὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐστίν. The reason why *Xenophon* does this Honour to the *Lacedæmonians*, will appear in the Introduction.



BOOK " him mention it." But no body opposing  
 III. what he offer'd, he said, " Let those who  
 " are of this Opinion, hold up their Hands :"  
 so this was resolv'd. " Now, says he, you  
 " are to depart, and execute what is de-  
 " termin'd : And whoever among you de-  
 " sires to return to his Family, let him re-  
 " member to fight bravely, (for that is the  
 " only means to effect it :) Whoever has  
 " a mind to live, let him endeavour to  
 " conquer ; for the part of the Conqueror  
 " is to inflict Death, that of the Conquer'd  
 " to receive it. And if any among you  
 " covet Riches, let him endeavour to over-  
 " come : for the Victorious not only pre-  
 " serve their own Possessions, but acquire  
 " those of the Enemy."

AFTER he had said this, they all rose up, and departing, burnt their Carriages, and Tents; as for the superfluous part of their Baggage, they gave that to one another where it was wanted, and cast the rest into the Fire. After this they went to Dinner. While they were at Dinner, *Mithridates* advanced with about thirty Horse, and, desiring the Generals might come within hearing, he said, " O *Greeks!* I was faithful to *Cyrus*, as  
 " you

“ you yourselves know, and now wish well Book  
 “ to you ; and do assure you that while I re- III.  
 “ main here, I am under great Apprehen-  
 “ sions. So that if I saw you taking sa-  
 “ lutory Resolutions, I would come over  
 “ to you and bring all my People with me.  
 “ Inform me therefore, of what you re-  
 “ solve, for I am your Friend and Well-  
 “ wisher, and desire to join you in <sup>“</sup> your  
 “ march.” After the Generals had consulted  
 together, they thought proper to return this  
 Answer, *Cheirisophus* speaking in the Name  
 of the rest. “ We resolve, says he, if we  
 “ are suffer’d to return home, to march  
 “ through the Country with as little damage  
 “ to it as possible ; but, if any one opposes  
 “ our march, to fight our way through in  
 “ the best manner we are able.” *Mithridates*  
 upon this endeavour’d to shew how impos-  
 sible it was for them to return in safety, with-  
 out the King’s Consent. This render’d him  
 suspected, besides, one belonging to *Tissapher-  
 nes* was in his Company, as a Spy upon him.  
 From this time forward the Generals deter-  
 min’d, that they would admit of no further  
 Treaty while they continued in the Enemy’s  
 Country : for, by coming in this manner,  
 they

<sup>“</sup> Τὸν ἑόλον. See the 19<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the  
 first Book.

BOOK they debauched not only the Soldiers, but

III. *Nicharchus*, an *Arcadian*, one of the Captains, who deserted to them that Night, with about twenty Men.

As soon as the Soldiers had din'd, the Army pass'd the River *Zabatus*, and march'd in Order of Battle, with the Baggage, and those who attended it, in the middle : They had not gone far, before *Mithridates* appear'd again with about two hundred Horse, and four hundred Archers and Slingers very light, and fit for Expedition. He advanc'd as a Friend ; but, when he came near, immediately both the Horse and Foot discharg'd their Arrows ; the Slingers also made use of their Slings, and wounded some of our Men. So that the Rear of the *Greeks* receiv'd great Damage, without being able to return it : For the Bows of the *Cretans* did not carry so far as those of the *Persians* : The former also, being lightly arm'd, had shelter'd themselves in the middle of the heavy-arm'd Men, neither could our Darters reach their Slingers. *Xenophon* seeing this, resolv'd to pursue the Enemy, and the heavy-arm'd Men and Targeteers, who were with him in the Rear, followed the Pursuit. But they  
could

could come up with none of them; for the *Greeks* had no Horse, and their Foot could not in so short a Space overtake those of the Enemy, who had so much the Start of them. Neither durst they in the Pursuit separate themselves too far from the rest of the Army; for the *Barbarians* Horse wounded them even as they fled, shooting backward from their Horses: And, as far as the *Greeks* were advanc'd in the Pursuit, so far were they oblig'd to retreat fighting. Insomuch that they could not march above five and twenty Stadia all that Day; however in the Evening they arriv'd in the Villages. Here the Troops were again dishearten'd; and *Cheirisophus* with the oldest Generals blam'd *Xenophon* for leaving the main Body to pursue the Enemy, and exposing himself without any possibility of hurting them.

*XENOPHON* hearing this, said they had reason to blame him, and that they were justified by the Event. " But, says he, I was under a Necessity of pursuing the Enemy, since I saw our Men suffer great Damage by standing still, without being able to return it: but when we were engag'd in the Pursuit, continued he, we found what you say to be

BOOK true : For we were not more able to annoy  
 III. the Enemy than before, and retreated with  
 { great Difficulty. We have reason therefore  
 to thank the Gods that they came upon us  
 only with a small Force and a few Troops, so  
 that, instead of doing us great Damage, they  
 have taught us our Wants. For now the  
 Enemy's Atchers and Slingers wound our  
 Men at a greater distance, than either the  
*Cretans*, or the Darters can reach them ;  
 and when we pursue them, we must not sepa-  
 rate ourselves far from the main Body ; and  
 in a short Space our Foot, though never so  
 swift, cannot come up with theirs, so as to  
 reach them with their Arrows. If we mean  
 therefore to hinder them from disturbing  
 us in our March, we must immediately pro-  
 vide ourselves with Slingers and Horse. I  
 hear there are *Rhodians* in our Army, the  
 greatest part of whom, they say, understand  
 the Use of the Sling ; and that their Slings  
 carry twice as far as those of the *Persians*,  
 who throwing <sup>22</sup> large Stones, cannot of-  
 fend their Enemy at a great Distance : where-  
 as the *Rhodians*, besides Stones, make use  
 of leaden Balls. If therefore we enquire  
 who

<sup>22</sup> Χείροπλήθεσι τοῖς λίθοις, Literally Stones so  
 large, that every one of them is a handful.

who have Slings, and pay them for them; and also give Money to those who are willing to make others; granting at the same time some other Immunity to those, who voluntarily list among the Slingers, possibly some will offer themselves, who may be fit for that Service. I see also Horses in the Army, some belonging to me, and some left by *Clearchus*; besides many others that we have taken from the Enemy, which are employed in carrying the Baggage: If therefore we chuse out all the best of these, and accoutre them for the Horse, giving to the Owners <sup>23</sup> sumpter Horses in exchange, possibly these also may annoy the Enemy in their Flight." These things were resolv'd upon: and the same Night two hundred Slingers list themselves. The next Day proper Horses and Horsemen were appointed to the number of fifty, and <sup>24</sup> buff Coats and Corsets were provided for them; and the Command of them was given to *Lycius* the Son of *Polystratus*, an *Athenian*.

P 2

THAT

<sup>23</sup> Σκευοφόρα. See the fifty-second Annotation upon the first Book.

<sup>24</sup> Στολάδες. *Hutchinson* inclines to read σπολάδες; which has the Sense I have here given to στολάδες; though *Suidas* acknowledges στολάδες in the Sense our Author takes it;

BOOK THAT Day the Army staid in the same  
 III. Place: and the next they began their March  
 earlier than usual; for they had a <sup>25</sup> Valley  
 form'd by a Torrent to pass, and were a-  
 fraid the Enemy should attack them in their  
 Passage. As soon as they had pass'd it, *Mi-*  
*thridates* appear'd again with a thousand  
 Horse and four thousand Archers and Slin-  
 gers; for so many *Tissaphernes* had granted  
 him, at his Desire, and upon his undertaking,  
 with that Number, to deliver the *Greeks* into  
 his Power: for having, in the last Action,  
 with a small Force, done them, as he ima-  
 gin'd, great Damage, without receiving any,  
 he had a Contempt for them. When the  
*Greeks* were advanc'd about eight Stadia  
 beyond the Valley, *Mithridates* also pass'd  
 it with the Forces under his Command.  
 The *Greek* Generals had given Orders to


a

<sup>25</sup> *Χαράδραν*. In this Sense *χαράδραι* is taken by  
*Homer* in that sublime Description of an Inundation,  
 in which the Bishop of *Theſſalonica* thinks he had the  
 univerſal Deluge in his Eye,

Homer  
 II. π.

Τῶν δέ τε πάντες μὲν ποταμοὶ πλήθουσι ῥέοντες,  
 Πολλὰς δὲ κλειτὺς τότε ἀποτμήγουσι χαράδραι,

Where *χαράδραι* is thus explain'd by the *Greek* Scholiaſt,  
 Οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν χειμάρρων ἐκρησσόμενοι αὐλῶνες· παρὰ τὸ  
*χαράσσειν*, ἢ τραχύνειν τὴν γῆν· οἱ κοῖλοι τόποι ἢ  
*χείμαρροι*, ſo that *χαράδρα* is a Valley form'd by a  
 Torrent.

a certain Number both of the Targeteers **BOOK**  
and heavy-arm'd Men to follow the Chace, **III.**  
and also to the Horse to pursue them boldly,   
with Assurance that a sufficient Force should  
follow to sustain them. When therefore *Mi-*  
*thridates* overtook them, and was now with-  
in Reach of their Slings and Arrows, the Trum-  
pet sounded, and those of the *Greeks*, who  
had Orders, immediately attack'd the Enemy,  
the Horse charging at the same time. How-  
ever, the *Persians* did not stand to receive  
them, but fled to the Valley. In this Pursuit,  
the *Barbarians* lost many of their Foot, and  
about eighteen of their Horse were taken  
Prisoners in the Valley. The *Greeks*, of  
their own accord, mangled the Bodies of  
those that were slain, to create the greater  
Horror in the Enemy.

AFTER this Defeat, the *Persians* retir'd,  
and the *Greeks* marching the rest of the Day  
without Disturbance, came to the River *Ti-*  
*gris*. Here stood a large uninhabited City,  
called <sup>26</sup> *Larissa* : It was anciently inhabited

by  
<sup>26</sup> *Λάρισα*. It is very judiciously remarked by the  
great *Bochart*, that it is improbable there should be any  
such Name of a Town in this Part of the World as *La-*  
*rissa*, because it is a *Greek* Name; and though there  
were several Cities so call'd, they were all *Greek*: And



BOOK by the *Medes*. The Walls were twenty-five

III. Feet in Breadth, and one hundred in Height, and two Parasangas in Circuit; they were built with Bricks, but the Plinth was of Stone, and twenty Foot high. This City, when besieg'd by the King of *Persia*, at the Time the *Persians* were wresting the Empire from the *Medes*, he could not make himself Master of it by any means; when it happen'd that the Sun, obscur'd by

as no *Greeks* settled in these Parts, 'till the Time of *Alexander's* Conquests, which did not happen 'till many Years after *Xenophon's* Death, so he concludes they could meet with no such Name so far from *Greece* as beyond the River *Tigris*. He therefore conjectures, that this City is the *Resen*, mention'd by *Moses*, Gen. x. 12. where he says, *Ashur built Resen between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great City*. This agrees exactly with what *Xenophon* says of it; who calls it πόλις μεγάλη, and affirms the Walls of it to be in Circumference two Parasangas. *Bochart* therefore supposes, that when the *Greeks* asked the People of the Country, what City are these the Ruins of? They answer'd Ἰσῆ Larisen, that is, of *Resen*. It is easy to imagine how this Word might be soften'd by a *Greek* Termination, and made *Larissa*.

Thaleg.

B. 4. c. 23.

<sup>27</sup> Ἡλίου δὲ νεφέλη προκαλύψασα, &c. This Passage, I find, admits of different Readings, however, I prefer that of *Hutchinson*, which is supported by *Stephens* and *Muretus*, but differ both from him and *Leunclavius*, and also from *D'Ablancourt*, in translating it. They all make ἡφάνισε to relate to the Town, which, I think, is neither so agreeable to the Sense, nor to the Genius of the *Greek* Language; since ἡλίου being the accusative Case, govern'd by προκαλύψασα, I think

ἡφάνισε

by a Cloud, disappear'd, and the Darkneſs continued 'till, the Inhabitants being ſeiz'd with Conſternation, the Town was taken. Close to the City ſtood a <sup>28</sup> Pyramid of Stone

ὡφάνισε ought to relate to the ſame; which every body knows is very common in *Greek*, and not to another thing, which has not been mention'd in this Sentence.

<sup>28</sup> Πυραμὶς λιθίνη, τὸ μὲν ἔχει ἐνὸς πλήθους, τὸ δὲ ὀφείλει δύο πλήθους. These are very extraordinary Dimensions for a Pyramid, and very different from thoſe of the *Egyptian* Pyramids: ſo that we find the *Egyptian* and *Aſiatick* Taſte diſagreed very much in this Reſpect. For, though there is ſome Diverſity in the Accounts given by the ancient Authors, of the Dimensions of the *Egyptian* Pyramids, yet they all make them very different in their Proportions from this deſcrib'd by *Xenophon*. *Herodotus* makes the great Pyramid at Memphis 800 *Greek* Feet Square, and as many in Height, τῆς ἐνὶ παντακτῇ μέτρῳ ἑκάστων ὁκτὼ πλήθους, εἰς τὴν τετραγώνου, καὶ ὕψος ἴσον. If the Reader pleaſes to turn to the twenty-fiſt Annotation upon the firſt Book, he will find that the *Greek* Foot exceeded ours by ,0875 Decimals. *Diodorus Siculus* ſays the great Pyramid was four-square, and that each Side of the Baſe was 700 Feet, and the Height above 600. μεγίστη, τετραπλευρῶν ἴσα τῷ σχήματι, τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς βάσεως πλευρὰν ἑκάστην ἔχει πλήθους ἑπτὰ, τὸ δ' ὕψος ἔχει πλείους τῶν ἐξ πλήθους. There is another Account given of its Dimensions by a modern Author, *Thevenot*, who ſays the great Pyramid is 520 Foot high, and 682 ſquare. Of theſe three Accounts that of *Diodorus Siculus* ſeems to give the moſt rational Proportion of a Pyramid, which, if ſuppoſ'd to be an equilateral Triangle, and the Baſe to contain 700 Feet, as he ſays, will, in that Caſe, have 606 Feet, and a Fraction of 2177 for its perpendicular Height: for if an equilateral Pyramid, of which the Baſe contains 700 Feet, be divided into two equal Parts by a Perpendicular let down

Herodotus  
in Euterpe.

Diod. Sic.  
1 B.

Theven.  
2 B. c. 5.

BOOK Stone one hundred Foot square, and two hundred high. Into this a great number of *Barbarians*, who fled from the neighbouring Villages, had conveyed themselves.

FROM thence they made, in one day's march, six Parasangas, to a large uninhabited Castle, standing near a Town, called *Mespila*, formerly inhabited also by the *Medes*. The Plinth of the Wall was built with polish'd Stone full of Shells, it was fifty Feet in Breadth, and as many in Height. Upon this stood a brick Wall fifty Feet also in Breadth, and one hundred in Height: This Wall was six Parasangas in Circuit. Here *Media*, the King's Consort, is said to have taken Refuge, when the *Medes* were depriv'd of the Empire by the *Persians*. When the *Persian* King besieg'd this City, he could not make himself Master of it either by Length

of

from the Top, it will make two right-angled Triangles, of which the Hypotenuse will contain 700 Feet, the Square of which will consequently be equal to the Square of the two other Sides: If therefore from 490000 the Square of 700, you deduct 122500 the Square of 350, of which the Base consists, there will remain 367500 for the Square of the Perpendicular, the square Root of which will be 606, with a Fraction of  $\frac{2177}{2}$ ; so that the perpendicular Height of an equilateral Pyramid, the Base of which is 700 Feet, will be 606 Feet with that Fraction.

Euclid. 1 B. 47 Prop.

of Time or Force, but *Jupiter* <sup>29</sup> having BOOK  
struck the Inhabitants with a panick Fear, it III.  
was taken. }

FROM this place they made, in one day's march, four Parasangas. During their March *Tissaphernes* appear'd with his own Horse, and the Forces of *Orontas*, who had married the King's Daughter, together with those *Barbarians*, who had serv'd under *Cyrus* in his Expedition; to these was added the Army which the King's Brother had brought to his Assistance, and the Troops the King had given him. All these together made a vast Army. When he approach'd, he plac'd some of his Forces against our Rear, and others against each of our Flanks, but durst not attack us, being unwilling to hazard a Battle: However, he order'd his Men to use their Slings and Bows. But, when the *Rhodians*, who were dispos'd in Platoons, began to make Use of their Slings and the *Cretan* Bowmen, in Imitation of the *Scythians*, discharg'd their Arrows, none of them missing the Enemy, (which they could not easily have done, though they had endeavour'd it) both *Tissaphernes* himself quickly got  
out

<sup>29</sup> Εμβρόντης. Εμβρόντη. καρδιόπληκτ.  
μακινόμεν. ἐκφρων. *Suidas*.

BOOK out of their Reach, and the other Divisions

III. retir'd. The remaining part of the Day the  
 { *Greeks* continued their March, and the  
 others followed, without harassing them any  
 more with Skirmishes; for the Slings of  
 the *Rhodians* carried farther not only than  
 those of the *Persians*, but even than most  
 of the Archers could throw their Arrows.  
 The *Persian* Bows are long, so that their  
 Arrows, when gather'd up, were of ser-  
 vice to the *Cretans*, who continued to make  
 use of them, and accustom'd themselves to  
 take a great Elevation, in order to shoot  
 them to a greater distance. Besides, there  
 were found a considerable Quantity of Bow-  
 strings in the Villages, and some Lead, both  
 which were employed for the Slings.

THIS Day, after the *Greeks* were en-  
 camp'd in the Villages, the *Barbarians*, hav-  
 ing suffer'd in the Skirmish, retir'd: The  
 next the *Greeks* staid where they were, and  
 made their Provisions; for there was Plenty  
 of Corn in the Villages. The Day after  
 they march'd over the open Country, and  
*Tissaphernes* followed, harassing them at  
 a Distance. Upon this occasion the *Greeks*  
 observ'd

observ'd that an equilateral Square was not a proper Disposition for an Army, when pursued by the Enemy : for, whenever the Square has a narrow Road, a Defile between Hills, or a Bridge to pass, the Wings must close, and consequently the heavy-arm'd Men be forc'd out of their Ranks, and march uneasily, being both press'd together and disorder'd ; so that of necessity they become uselefs for want of Order. On the other Side, when the Wings come to be again extended, the Men who before were forc'd out of their Ranks, must divide, and consequently leave an Opening in the Center ; which very much disheartens those who are thus exposed, when the Enemy is at their Heels. Besides, when they have a Bridge, or any other Defile to pass, every Man is in a Hurry, wanting to be first. Upon which occasion the Enemy has a fair Oportunity of attacking them. After the Generals had discover'd this, they form'd six Companies of one hundred Men each, these they subdivided into others of fifty, and these again into others of twenty-five, and appointed Officers to all of them. The Captains of these Companies upon a March, when the  
Wings

BOOK Wings clos'd, staid behind, so as not to  
 III. disorder the Rear ; they at that Time march-  
 ing clear of the Wings. And when the  
 Sides of the Square came to be again ex-  
 tended, 1<sup>o</sup> they then fill'd up the Center,

if

30 Τὸ μέσον ἀνέξεπέμπλασαν, εἰ μὲν στενότερον ἦν τὸ  
 δῖχον, κατὰ τὰς λόχους· εἰ δὲ πλατύτερον, κατὰ πεν-  
 τηκοῦς, εἰ δὲ πᾶν πλατὺ, κατ' ἐνωμοτίας· ὥστε αἰεὶ  
 ἐκπλεων εἶναι τὸ μέσον. Here a great Difficulty pre-  
 sents itself, which the Translators have either not seen,  
 or if they have seen it, they have not thought fit to take  
 Notice of it. But let us follow *Xenophon* in stating  
 the Inconveniences to which the equilateral Square was  
 subject, with the Remedies propos'd by the Generals  
 to cure them. The Inconveniences, it seems, were  
 two, the first that in passing through Defiles, the  
 Wings clos'd, which put the Men in Disorder. The  
 second, that, after they had pass'd the Defiles, and the  
 Wings were again extended, the Men were forc'd  
 to run to the Wings, in order to recover their Ranks,  
 by which means there was a Void in the middle. In  
 order therefore to remedy these Inconveniences, the  
 Generals form'd six Companies or Bodies of one hun-  
 dred Men each, which they subdivided into others of  
 fifty, and these again into others of twenty-five, and  
 appointed Officers to each of these Bodies. The Cap-  
 tains of these Companies, when the Wings clos'd,  
 march'd clear of them, so as not to put them into  
 any Disorder ; by this Means the first Inconvenience  
 was cured, but how was the second to be remedied ?  
 If you believe the Text, as it now stands, by filling  
 up the Void, if it was narrow, with the Companies of  
 one hundred Men each, if larger, with those of fifty,  
 and if very large, with those of twenty-five ; so that  
 the narrower the Interval, the greater was the num-  
 ber of Men to be made use of in filling it up, and  
 the larger, the fewer were to be employed for that  
 Purpose.

if the Opening was narrow, with the Com-  
panies of one hundred Men each ; if larger,  
with

BOOK  
III.

Purpose. But this is obviously contrary to common Sense : If therefore the Text be so far alter'd, as to transpose *κατὰ τὰς λόχους*, and *κατ' ἐνωμοτίας*, every Thing will be natural. This Correction however I have not followed in the Translation, because it is very possible to explain the Text as it now stands, and if so, no Alteration ought to be made in it. It is possible, I say, very possible, that the Meaning of *Xenophon* may be this. Let it be suppos'd that the Square has pass'd some Defile, and that the Men running to each of the Wings in order to recover their Ranks, there remains a Void in the Center ; in that Case, I say, possibly the Captains of these six Companies, marching in the Rear, filled up the Void, if it was narrow, with their six Companies of one hundred Men each, drawn up, for example, twenty-five in Front, and twenty-four in Depth ; if the Void was larger, with those of fifty Men each drawn up fifty in Front, and twelve in Depth ; and if very large, with the Companies of twenty-five Men each, drawn up one hundred in Front, and six in Depth ; and by this means, as our Author says, the Center was always full. This Passage seems very well to have deserv'd the Attention of the Translators, for, if I am not mistaken, this is a very fine Disposition, and very well calculated to cure the two Inconveniences to which a Square was subject, when an Enemy followed. But the Merit of this, and of all other Dispositions practis'd by our Author in this memorable Retreat, must be submitted to the military Men, who alone are the proper Judges in these Cases. As to the Signification of *πεντηκός*, and *ἐνωμοτία*, they were both military Terms among the *Lacedæmonians*, the first explains itself, and the second is thus explain'd by *Suidas*. *Ενωμοτία. τάξις τις στρατιωτικὴ ἀνδρῶν ἐκ κ', παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίαις, εἴρηται, δὲ ἐκ τῶ ἀμύνουσι αὐτοὺς μὴ λείψειν τὴν τάξιν*, a Body of Soldiers among the *Lacedæmonians*, consisting of twenty-five



BOOK with those of fifty; and if very large, with  
 III. those of five and twenty: so that the Center was always full. If therefore the Army were to pass any Defile or Bridge, there was no Confusion, the Captains of these several Companies bringing up the Rear; and, if a Detachment were wanted upon any Occasion, these were always at hand. In this Disposition they made four Marches.

WHILE they were upon their March the fifth Day, they saw a Palace and many Villages lying round it. The Road, which led to this Place lay over high Hills, that reach'd down from the Mountain, under which there stood a Village. The *Greeks* were rejoic'd to see these Hills, and with great Reason, the Enemy's Forces consisting in Horse. But after they had left the Plain, and ascended the first Hill, while they were descending from thence in order to climb the next, the *Barbarians* appear'd, and from the Eminence shower'd down upon them, under

five Men. It must be observ'd, that in the first Book, where *Xenophon* mentions two of *Menon's* λόχοι, or Companies to have been cut off, he says they amounted to one hundred Men, whereas these Companies consisted of one hundred Men each; but these seem to have been form'd for this particular Purpose:

under <sup>31</sup> the Scourge, Darts, Stones, and Arrows. They wounded many, and had the Advantage over the *Greek* light-arm'd Men, forcing them to retire within the Body of the heavy-arm'd : So that the Slingers and Archers were that Day intirely useless, being mixed with those who had Charge of the Baggage. And when the *Greeks*, being thus press'd, endeavour'd to pursue the Enemy, as they were heavy-arm'd Men, they mov'd slowly to the Top of the Mountain, while the Enemy quickly retreated : And when the *Greeks* retir'd to their <sup>32</sup> main Body, the same thing happen'd

to

<sup>31</sup> Τὸ ματίγων. It was Part of the *Persian* Discipline to make their Soldiers do their Duty, as *Xenophon* says, ὑπὸ ματίγων, under the Scourge. So *Xerxes*, after he had landed in *Europe*, saw his Army passing the *Hellepont* under the Scourge, ἐπείτο τον στρατὸν ὑπὸ ματίγων διαβαίνοντα ; *D'Ablancourt* has left it quite out, chusing rather to leave his Readers uninform'd of this Custom, than to clog his Translation with so uncommon a Circumstance.

*Herodotus*  
in *Poly-*  
*hymnia.*

<sup>32</sup> Πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατευμα. *Scil. Barbarorum*, says *Hutchinson* in his Notes ; *Leunclavius* has also translated it in the same Sense : I am sorry to find myself oblig'd to differ from them both ; but I think it plain that τὸ ἄλλο στρατευμα here signifies the main Body of the *Greeks*, from which these heavy-arm'd Men were detach'd to drive the Enemy from the Eminence, which after they had effected, the Enemy attack'd them in their Retreat to their main Body. Our Author used the same Expression in the same Sense

some

BOOK to them again. They found the same Difficulty in passing the second Hill: so that they determin'd not to order out the heavy-arm'd Men from the third Hill; but, instead of that, they brought up the Targeteers to the Top of the Mountain from the Right of the Square. When these were got above the Enemy, they no longer molested our Men in their Descent, fearing to be cut off from their own Body, and, that we should attack them on both Sides. In this Manner we march'd the rest of the Day, some in the Road upon the Hills, and others abreast of them upon the Mountain, 'till they came to the Villages: When they appointed eight <sup>33</sup> Surgeons, for there were many wounded.

HERE some Pages before, πολὺ γὰρ ἔχουσιντες ἦν ἀπὸ τῶ ἄλλου στρατεύματος διώκειν, where all the Translators have translated τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύμα, in the same manner I have render'd it here: Besides, the word ἀπίσιον shews clearly that the Thing here spoken of is their Return.

<sup>33</sup> Ιατροί. I have said Surgeons instead of Physicians, because both Professions being anciently exercis'd by the same Persons, they were chiefly employed as Surgeons upon this Occasion. There are two Verses in *Homer*, upon *Machaon's* being wounded by *Paris*, which shew both the great Regard that was paid to the Profession, and that Surgery, as I said, was a Branch of it.

Homer  
Il. 4.

Ἰητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξει ἄλλων,  
ἰὺς τ' ἐκτάμνων, ἐπὶ τ' ἔπια φάρμακα πάσσει.

HERE they staid three Days, both on BOOK  
 account of the wounded, and because they III.  
 found plenty of Provisions there, as Wheat-  
 Meal, Wine, and a great quantity of Barley  
 for Horses; all which was laid up for the Sa-  
 trape of the Country. The fourth Day they  
 descended into the Plain; where, when *Tis-  
 saphernes* had overtaken them with the Ar-  
 my under his Command, he taught them  
 how necessary it was to encamp in the first  
 Village they came to, and to march no  
 longer fighting: For some being wounded,  
 some employed in carrying those who were  
 so, and others in carrying the Arms of the  
 latter, great numbers were not in a Condi-  
 tion to fight. But, when they were encamp'd,  
 and the *Barbarians*, coming up to the Village,  
 offer'd to skirmish, the *Greeks* had greatly the  
 Advantage of them: for they found a great  
 difference between sallying from their Camp  
 to repulse the Enemy, and being oblig'd to  
 march fighting, whenever they were attack'd.  
 When the Evening approach'd, it was Time  
 for the *Barbarians* to retire; because they  
 never encamp'd at a less distance from the  
*Greeks*, than sixty Stadia, for Fear these  
 should fall upon them in the Night. A *Per-  
 sian* Army being then subject to great Incon-  
 veniences;


Book veniences: for their Horses are tied, and  
 III. generally shackled, to prevent them from  
 running away; and, if an Alarm happens,  
 a *Persian* has the <sup>34</sup> Housing to fix, his  
 Horse to bridle, and his Corslet to put on,  
 before he can mount. All these Things can-  
 not be done in the Night without great  
 Difficulty, particularly, if there is an Alarm.  
 For this Reason they always encamp'd at a  
 Distance from the *Greeks*. When these per-  
 ceiv'd they design'd to retire, and that the  
 Word was given, they, in the Enemy's hear-  
 ing, receiv'd Orders to make ready to march.  
 Upon this the *Barbarians* made a Halt;  
 but, when it grew late, they departed: for  
 they did not hold it expedient to march,  
 and arrive at their Camp, in the Night.

WHEN the *Greeks* plainly saw they were  
 retir'd, they also decamp'd, and marching

away,

<sup>34</sup> Επισάξαι τὸν ἵππον. I was surpriz'd to find  
 this translated by *d'Ablancourt*, *selle son Cheval*, which  
 I had rather attribute to his Inadvertence, than to his  
 Ignorance, since he could not but know that the An-  
 cients, instead of Saddle, used a kind of Housing, or  
 Julius Pol. Horse-cloth, which the *Greeks* called σάξν, and the  
 10 B. c. 12. *Latins Sagum*. This Housing is to be seen upon the  
 Horses represented on *Trajan's Pillar*, and in many other  
 Monuments of Antiquity. The *Romans* called these  
 Housings also *strata*, the Invention of which, toge-  
 Plin N.H. ther with that of Bridles, *Pliny* ascribes to *Pelethronius*,  
 7 B. c. 57. *franos & strata Equorum Pelethronium*.

away, advanc'd about sixty Stadia. The two Armies were now at so great a Distance from one another, that the Enemy did not appear, either the next Day, or the Day after. But on the fourth, the *Barbarians*, having got before the *Greeks* in the Night, possess'd themselves of an Eminence that commanded the Road, through which the *Greeks* were to pass. It was the Brow of a Hill, under which lay the Descent into the Plain. As soon as *Cheirisophus* saw this Eminence possess'd by the Enemy, he sent for *Xenophon* from the Rear, and desired him to bring up the Targeteers to the Front. *Xenophon* did not take these with him, (for he saw *Tisaphernes* advancing with his whole Army) but, riding up to him himself, said, Why do you send for me? *Cheirisophus* answer'd, you see the Enemy have possess'd themselves of the Hill that commands the Descent, and, unless we dislodge them, it is not possible for us to pass: but, adds he, why did you not bring the Targeteers along with you? *Xenophon* replied, because he did not think proper to leave the Rear naked, when the Enemy was in Sight: but, says he, It is high time to consider how we shall dislodge those Men. Here *Xenophon* observing

BOOK the Top of the Mountain, that was above  
 III.  their own Army, found there was a Passage from that to the Hill, where the Enemy was posted. Upon this he said, " O "*Cheirisophus* ! I think, the best Thing we " can do, is to gain the Top of this Mountain, as soon as possible; for, if we are " once Masters of That, the Enemy cannot " maintain themselves upon the Hill. Do " you stay with the Army, says he, if you " think fit, I'll go up the Hill, or, do you go, " if you desire it, and I'll stay here." *Cheirisophus* answer'd, I give you your Choice : To this *Xenophon* replied, that, as he was the younger Man, he chose to go ; but desir'd he would send with him some Troops from the Front, since it would take a great Deal of Time to bring up a Detachment from the Rear. So *Cheirisophus* sent the Targeteers that were in the Front : *Xenophon* also took those that were in the Middle of the Square. Besides these, *Cheirisophus* order'd the three hundred chosen Men, who attended on himself in the Front of the Square, to follow him.

AFTER that they march'd with all possible Expedition. The Enemy, who were upon  
 the

the Hill, the Moment they saw them climb the Mountain, advanc'd at the same time striving to get there before them. Upon this Occasion there was a vast Shout rais'd both by the *Greek Army*, and that of *Tissaphernes*, each encouraging their own Men. And *Xenophon*, riding by the Side of his Troops, call'd out to them, "Soldiers! think you are this Minute contending to return to *Greece*, this Minute to see your Wives and Children: After this momentary Labour we shall go on without any farther Opposition." To whom *Soteridas* the *Sicyonian* said, "We are not upon equal Terms, O *Xenophon*! for you are on Horseback, while I am greatly fatigu'd with carrying my Shield." *Xenophon* hearing this, leap'd from his Horse, and thrust him out of his Rank; then, taking his Shield, march'd on as fast as he could. He happen'd to have a Horseman's Corset on at that Time, which was very troublesome. However, he called to those who were before to mend their Pace, and to those behind, who followed with great Difficulty, to come up. The rest of the Soldiers beat and abus'd *Soteridas*, and threw Stones at him, 'till they oblig'd him to take his Shield, and go on.



BOOK Then *Xenophon* remounted, and led them  
 III. on Horseback, as far as the Way would allow;  
 and, when it became impassable for his Horse,  
 he hasten'd forward on Foot. At last they  
 gain'd the Top of the Mountain, and pre-  
 vented the Enemy.

UPON this the *Barbarians* turn'd their  
 Backs, and fled every one as he could : And  
 the *Greeks* remain'd Masters of the Emi-  
 nence. *Tissaphernes* and *Ariæus* with their  
 Men, turning out of the Road, went an-  
 other way : And *Cheirisophus* with his  
 Forces came down into the Plain, and en-  
 camp'd in a Village abounding in every Thing.  
 There were also many other Villages in this  
 Plain, near the *Tigris*, full of all Sorts of  
 Provisions. In the Evening the Enemy ap-  
 pear'd on a sudden in the Plain, and cut off  
 some of the *Greeks*, who were dispers'd in  
 plundering : for many Herds of Cattle were  
 taken, as the People of the Country were  
 endeavouring to make them pass the River.  
 Here *Tissaphernes* and his Army attempted  
 to set Fire to the Villages. At this some of  
 the *Greeks* were dishearten'd, from the Ap-  
 prehension of wanting Provisions if he burn'd  
 them. About this time *Cheirisophus* and  
 his

his Men came back from relieving their  
 Companions, and *Xenophon*, being come  
 down into the Plain, and riding through  
 the Ranks, after the *Greeks* were return'd,  
 said. " You see, O *Greeks*! the Enemy  
 " already acknowledge the Country to be  
 " ours: for, when they made Peace with  
 " us, they stipulated that we should not  
 " burn the Country belonging to the King,  
 " and now they set Fire to it themselves;  
 " as if they look'd upon it no longer as  
 " their own. But, wherever they leave any  
 " Provisions for themselves, thither also  
 " they shall see us direct our March. But,  
 " O *Cheirisophus*! says he, I think we ought  
 " to attack these Burners, as in Defence of our  
 " own Country." *Cheirisophus* answer'd,  
 " I am not of that Opinion. On the con-  
 " trary, let us also set Fire to it ourselves,  
 " and by that Means they will give over the  
 " sooner."

WHEN they came to their Tents, the  
 Soldiers employed themselves in getting Pro-  
 visions, and the Generals and Captains as-  
 sembled, and were in great Perplexity: For,  
 on one Side of them were exceeding high  
 Mountains, and on the other, a River so deep,

BOOK that, when they sounded it with their Pikes,  
 III. the Ends of them did not even appear above  
 the Water : While they were in this Per-  
 plexity, a certain *Rhodian* came to them,  
 and said, “ Gentlemen ! I’ll undertake to  
 “ carry over <sup>35</sup> four thousand heavy-arm’d  
 “ Men at a Time, if you’ll supply me with  
 “ what I want, and give me <sup>36</sup> a Talent  
 “ for my Pains.” Being ask’d what he want-  
 ed, “ I shall want, says he, two thousand  
 “ leather Bags. I see here great numbers of  
 “ Sheep, Goats, Oxen and Asses : if these are  
 “ flea’d, and their Skins blown, we may easily  
 “ pass the River with them. I shall also  
 “ want the Girts belonging to the sumpter  
 “ Horses : With these, adds he, I will fasten  
 “ the Bags to one another, and hanging  
 “ Stones to them, let them down into the  
 “ Water, instead of Anchors, then tie up  
 “ the Bags at both Ends, and, when they  
 “ are upon the Water, lay Fascines upon  
 “ them, and cover them with Earth. I  
 “ will make you presently sensible, continues  
 “ he, that you can’t sink, for every Bag will  
 “ bear

<sup>35</sup> Κατὰ τετρακισχιλίους. This is the known Force  
 of the Preposition κατὰ, as might be shewn by many  
 Examples taken from the best Authors.

<sup>36</sup> Τάλαντων. See the 11<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the  
 first Book.

“ bear up two Men, and the Fascines and Book  
 “ the Earth will prevent them from slip- III.  
 “ ping.”

THE Generals, hearing this, thought the Invention ingenious, but impossible to be put in Practice : for there were great Numbers of Horse on the other Side of the River to oppose their Passage, and these would at once break all their Measures. The next Day the Army turn'd back again, taking a different Road from that which leads to *Babylon*; and march'd to the Villages that were not burn'd, setting Fire to those they abandon'd. Insomuch that the Enemy did not ride up to them, but look'd on, wondering which Way the *Greeks* meant to take, and what their Intention was. Here, while the Soldiers were employed in getting Provisions, the Generals and Captains re-assembled, and ordering the Prisoners to be brought in, <sup>97</sup> enquir'd concerning every Country that lay round them. The Prisoners inform'd them that there was to the South a Road that led to *Babylon* and *Media*, through which they came : another to the East, leading to *Susa* and *Ecbatana*, where the King is said to pass the Sum-

mer,

<sup>97</sup> Ηλεγχον. Ελέγξει βασινίσαι. *Hefychius.*

BOOK mer, and the Spring ; a third to the West

III. over the *Tigris*, to *Lydia* and *Ionia* ; and that the Road, which lay over the Mountains to the North, led to <sup>38</sup> the *Carduchians*. This People, they said, inhabited those Mountains, and that they were a war-like Nation, and not subject to the King : And that once the King's Army, consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand Men, penetrated into their Country ; from whence not one of them return'd, the Roads being hardly passable. But that whenever there was a Peace subsisting between them and the Governour residing in the Plain, there was an Intercourse between the two Nations.

THE Generals, hearing this, kept those Prisoners by themselves from whom they receiv'd the Intelligence of each Country, without discovering what Rout they design'd

to

<sup>38</sup> Καρδύχης, This People came afterwards to be better known under the Name of *Parthians*. I should not have advanc'd this upon an Authority of less Weight, than that of *Strabo* ; Πρὸς δὲ τῷ Τίγρει, says he, τὰ τῶν Παρθυαίων χωρία ἕς οἱ πάλαι Καρδύχης ἔλεγον. It was the Posterity of this very People, with whom we shall find the *Greeks* engag'd in the next Book, who, under the Conduct of their King *Arfaces*, freed their Country from the Dominion of the *Seleucides*, and afterwards became a Terror even to the *Romans*, who were so to the rest of Mankind.

*Strabo*,  
16 B.

*Dion Cas-*  
*sius*, 40 B.

They

to take. However, they found there was a **Book**  
 Necessity to pass the Mountains, and pene- **III.**  
 trate into the Country of the *Carduchians*:  
 for the Prisoners inform'd them, that, as soon  
 as they had pass'd through it, they should  
 arrive in *Armenia*, which was a spacious  
 and plentiful Country, and of which *Oron-*  
*tas* was Governour; from whence they  
 might, without difficulty, march which Way  
 soever they pleas'd. Upon this they offer'd  
 Sacrifice, to the End, that, when they found  
 it convenient, they might depart, (for they  
 were afraid the Pass over the Mountains  
 might be possess'd by the Enemy) and com-  
 manded the Soldiers, as soon as they had  
 supp'd, to get their Baggage ready; then all  
 to go to Rest, and march upon the first  
 Order.

They are still called *Curdes* and their Country *Cur-*  
*distan*. *Plutarch* informs us that *Artaxerxes* (the same *Plutarch*  
 against whom this Expedition was form'd) afterwards *Life of Ar-*  
 march'd into the Country of the *Carduchians*, at the *taxerxes*.  
 Head of three hundred thousand Foot and ten thou-  
 sand Horse; and that his Army had in all probability  
 been destroyed by Famine, had not *Tiribazus*, by in-  
 fusing into the Minds of the two Kings of the *Car-*  
*duchians* a mutual Distrust, induc'd them to make  
 Peace with the *Persians*.

*The End of the Third Book.*

T H E



T H E  
E X P E D I T I O N  
O F  
C Y R U S.

---

B O O K   I V.

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BOOK  
IV.

**W**E have hitherto given an Account of what happen'd in the Expedition of *Cyrus* to the time of the Battle, of what happen'd after the Battle, during the Truce concluded between the King and the *Greeks* who had serv'd under *Cyrus*, and in what Manner, after the King and *Tissaphernes* had broken the Truce, the *Greeks* were harass'd, while they were followed by the *Persian* Army.


W H E N

WHEN the *Greeks* came to the Place, BOOK IV.  
 where the River *Tigris* is, both from its  
 Depth, and Breadth, absolutely impassable,  
 and no Road appear'd, the craggy Moun-  
 tains of the *Carduchians* hanging over  
 the River, the Generals resolv'd to march  
 over those Mountains: For they were in-  
 form'd by the Prisoners, that, after they  
 had pass'd them, they would have it in their  
 Power to cross the Head of the *Tigris* in  
*Armenia*, if they thought proper; if not,  
 to go round it. ' The Source of the *Eu-*  
*phrates* also was said not to be far distant  
 from

Καὶ τῷ Ευφράτῃ τε τὰς πηγὰς ἐλέγετο ὃ πρόσω  
 τῷ Τίγρει εἶναι. *Strabo* informs us that the *E-* Strabo,  
*phrates* and *Tigris* both rise out of Mount *Taurus*, the 11 B.  
 former on the North of it, and the latter on the South,  
 and that the Sources of these Rivers are distant from  
 one another about two thousand five hundred *Stadia*,  
 διέχουσι δὲ ἀλλήλων αἱ πηγαὶ τῷ τε Ευφράτῃ καὶ τῷ  
 Τίγρει περὶ δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας σταδίας. I  
 cannot omit, upon this occasion, an Observation of  
 the learned Bishop of *Auranches*, who says that the  
 Name of Mount *Taurus* comes from the general Word *Huet*.  
 170 *Toru*, which, in the *Chaldaic* Language, signifies *Com. des*  
 a Mountain, and is applicable to every Mountain in *Anc. c. 56.*  
 the World: this he confirms by the Testimony of *Dia-*  
*dorus Siculus*, who, speaking of the Building of *Taura-*  
*minium* in *Sicily*, calls the Mountain *Taurus* upon which *Diod. Sic.*  
 it stood, λόφος, a Hill. But it must be observ'd, 14 B.  
 that the Mountain from whence the *Euphrates* rises,  
 is more properly a Branch of Mount *Taurus*, which  
*Strabo* in the same Book calls *Abos*. *Tournefort*, who *Tourne-*  
 was fort, 18  
 Letter.



BOOK from that of the *Tigris* : and indeed the Dis-

IV.  tance between these two Rivers is in some places but small. To the End therefore that the Enemy might not be acquainted with their Design of penetrating into the Country of the *Carduchians*, and defeat it, by possessing themselves of the Eminences, they executed it in the following Manner. When it was <sup>a</sup> about the last Watch, and so much of

was upon the Place, says, that the *Euphrates* has two Sources rising out of that Mountain, which Sources form two beautiful Rivulets, both called by the Name of *Frat* : And that these Rivulets make a kind of Peninsula of the Plain, in which *Erzeron*, the Capital of *Armenia*, stands, and afterwards unite their Streams at a Village, called *Monnmacotum*, which, he says, is about three Days Journey from *Erzeron*. I shall only add that *Moses*, in his Description of Paradise, calls this River פְּרַת *Phrath*, which the Septuagint has translated Ευφράτης ; though by the way it is pretty plain these Letters were not those made use of by *Moses*, since the *Jews* used the *Samaritan* Letters 'till their Captivity at *Babylon*, and adopted the *Syriac* or *Chaldaic* at their Return.

Gen. c. ii.  
ver. 14.

Origines  
in a Frag-  
ment in  
Montfau-  
con.

Jerom in  
his Pref. to  
the B. of  
Kings.  
Scaliger in  
his Notes  
upon Euseb.  
Montfau-  
con z B.

Plin. N. H.  
7 B. c. 56.

<sup>a</sup> ΤΕΛΕΥΤΑΙΑΝ ΦΥΛΑΚΗΝ. The Author of the *Ety-mologicum* thinks that Φυλακή comes from Φυλή ; the Reason he gives for it is, because the Watches were kept by the Tribes, λέγουσι γὰρ ὅτι τὰς Φυλακὰς αἱ Φυλὰὶ εἶχον ὅθεν λέγεται καὶ πρώτη Φυλακή τῆς νυκτός, καὶ δευτέρα, καὶ τρίτη κατὰ γὰρ τρεῖς ὥρας ἑφύλαττε μία Φυλή. From thence, says he, they say the first, second, and third Watch, because one Tribe watched three Hours. The Invention of these Watches, together with that of many other military Institutions, *Pliny* ascribes to *Palemedes*, *Ordinem exercitus, signi dationem, Tesseras*, 7 B. c. 56. *Vigilias invenit Palemedes Trojano Bello.*

of the Night was left, as to allow them to traverse the Plain while it was yet dark, they decamp'd, and, marching when the Order was given, came to the Mountain by break of Day. *Cheirisophus* commanded the Vanguard with his own People, and all the light-arm'd Men; and *Xenophon* brought up the Rear with the heavy-arm'd, having none of the light-arm'd, because there seem'd no Danger of the Enemy's attacking their Rear, while they were marching up the Mountain. *Cheirisophus* gain'd the Top before he was perceiv'd by the Enemy: then led forward; and the rest of the Army, as fast as they pass'd the Summit, followed him into the Villages, that lay dispers'd in the Valleys and Recesses of the Mountains.

UPON this the *Carduchians* left their Houses, and, with their Wives and Children, fled to the Hills. Here they had an Opportunity of supplying themselves with Provisions in Abundance. The Houses were well furnished with all sorts of brass Utensils; which the *Greeks* forbore to plunder; neither did they pursue the Inhabitants, in  
Hope,

BOOK Hope, by sparing them, to prevail upon the  
IV. *Carduchians*, since they were Enemies to  
the King, to conduct them through their  
Country in a friendly Manner : But they  
took all the Provisions they met with ; for  
they were compelled to it by Necessity.  
However, the *Carduchians* paid no Regard  
to their Invitations, or shewed any other  
Symptoms of a friendly Disposition : And,  
when the Rear of the *Greek* Army was  
descending from the Top of the Mountains  
into the Villages, it being now dark, (for  
as the Way was narrow, they spent the  
whole Day in the Ascent of the Mountains,  
and the Descent from thence into the Vil-  
lages) some of the *Carduchians*, gathering  
together, attack'd the hindmost, and killed  
and wounded some of them with Stones, and  
Arrows. They were but few in number ;  
for the *Greek* Army came upon them un-  
awares. Had the Enemy been more nume-  
rous at that Time, great Part of the Army  
had been in Danger. In this Manner they  
pass'd the Night in the Villages : And the  
*Carduchians* made Fires all round them  
upon the Mountains, and both had their  
Eyes upon one another.

As soon as it was Day, the Generals and the Captains of the *Greeks* assembled, and resolv'd to reserve only those sumpter Horses upon their March that were necessary and most able, and to leave the rest, and dismiss all the Slaves they had newly taken : For the great number of sumpter Horses and Slaves retarded their March; and many of their Men, by having Charge of these, were unfit for Action. Besides, there being so many Mouths, they were under a Necessity of providing and carrying double the Quantity of Provisions. This being resolv'd, they gave Orders to have it put in Execution.

WHILE therefore they were upon their March after Dinner, the Generals plac'd themselves in a narrow Pass, and, whatever they found reserv'd by the Soldiers, contrary to Order, they took it away ; and the Men submitted, unless any of them happen'd privately to have retain'd some Boy, or beautiful Woman he was fond of. In this Manner they march'd that Day, sometimes fighting, and sometimes resting themselves. The next Day there was a great Storm, however they were oblig'd to go on ; for their Provisions fail'd them. *Ghe-*

BOOK *risophus* led the Van, and *Xenophon* brought  
 IV. up the Rear. Here, the Ways being narrow,  
 the Enemy made a brisk Attack upon them,  
 and, coming up close, discharg'd their Ar-  
 rows, and made use of their Slings : So that  
 the *Greeks*, sometimes pursuing, and some-  
 times retreating, were oblig'd to march  
 slowly ; and *Xenophon* often order'd the  
 Army to halt, when the Enemy press'd hard  
 upon them. Upon one of these Orders  
*Cheirisophus*, who us'd to stand still on the  
 like Occasions, did not stop, but march'd  
 faster than usual, and order'd the Men to  
 follow. By this it appear'd there was some-  
 thing extraordinary, but they were not at  
 Leisure to send to him to enquire the Cause  
 of this Haste : So that the March of those  
 in the Rear had the Resemblance more of a  
 Flight, than a Retreat. Here fell a brave  
 Man, *Cleonymus* a *Lacedæmonian*, who  
 was wounded in the Side by an Arrow,  
 that made its Way both through his Shield  
 and his buff Coat. Here also fell *Basias*,  
 an *Arcadian*, whose Head was pierc'd quite  
 through with an Arrow. When they were  
 arriv'd at the Place, where they design'd to  
 encamp, *Xenophon* immediately went, as  
 he was, to *Cheirisophus*, and blam'd him  
 for

for not stopping, but obliging the Rear to Book  
 fly and fight at the same Time. “ Here IV.  
 “ we have lost two brave and worthy Men,  
 “ says he, without being able either to  
 “ bring them off, or to bury them.” To  
 this *Cheirisophus* answer’d, “ Cast your  
 “ Eyes, says he, upon those Mountains,  
 “ and observe how unpassable they all  
 “ are. You see there is but one Road, and  
 “ that a steep one. It is, you may observe,  
 “ possess’d too by a great Multitude of Men,  
 “ who stand ready to defend it. For this  
 “ Reason I march’d hastily, without staying  
 “ for you, that, if possible, I might pre-  
 “ vent the Enemy, and make myself Mas-  
 “ ter of the Pass: for our Guides assure  
 “ us there is no other Road.” *Xenophon*  
 replied, “ I have two Prisoners: for, when  
 “ the Enemy molested us in our March, we  
 “ plac’d some Men in Ambush, (which gave  
 “ us time to breathe) and, having killed  
 “ some of them, we were also desirous of  
 “ taking some alive, with this View, that  
 “ we might have Guides who were acquaint-  
 “ ed with the Country.”

THE Prisoners therefore being brought be-  
 fore them, they <sup>3</sup> question’d them separately,

R 2

whether

<sup>3</sup> Ηεγγυον. See the 37<sup>th</sup> Annot. upon the 3<sup>d</sup> Book.

BOOK whether they knew of any other Road than  
 IV. That, which lay before them. One of them  
 { said he knew no other, though he was  
 threaten'd with divers Kinds of Torture.  
 As he said nothing to the Purpose, he was  
 put to Death in the Presence of the other.  
 The Survivor said, this Man pretended he  
 did not know the other Road, because he  
 had a Daughter married to a Man, who  
 liv'd there: But that he himself would un-  
 dertake to conduct us through a Road that  
 was passable even for the sumpter Horses.  
 Being ask'd whether there was any difficult  
 Pass in that Road, he said there was a Sum-  
 mit, which, if not secur'd in Time, would  
 render the Passage impracticable. Upon this  
 it was thought proper to assemble the Cap-  
 tains, the Targeteers, and some of the heavy-  
 arm'd Men: And, having inform'd them  
 how Matters stood, to ask them whether  
 any of them would shew their Gallantry,  
 and voluntarily undertake this Service. Two  
 of the heavy-arm'd Men offer'd themselves,  
*Aristonymus* of *Methydria*, and *Agasias* of  
*Stymphalus*, both *Arcadians*. But *Calli-*  
*machus* of *Parrhasie*, an *Arcadian*, and  
*Agasias* had a Contest who should under-  
 take it. The latter said that he would go, and  
 take

take with him Volunteers out of the whole **Book**  
 Army. "For I am well assur'd, says he, if I **IV.**  
 "have the Command, many of the Youth  
 "will follow me." After that they ask'd if  
 any of the light-arm'd Men, or of their Of-  
 ficers would also be of the Party. Upon  
 which *Aristeas* of *Chios* presented himself.  
 He had, upon many Occasions of this na-  
 ture, done great Service to the Army.

THE 4 Day was now far advanced: So the  
 Generals order'd these to eat something,  
 and set out; and deliver'd the Guide to  
 them bound. It was agreed that if they made  
 themselves Masters of the Summit, they  
 should make it good that Night, and, as soon  
 as it was Day, give them Notice of it by  
 sounding a Trumpet: And that those above  
 should charge that Body of the Enemy that  
 was posted in the Passage that lay before  
 them, while those below march'd up to their  
 Assistance with all the Expedition they were  
 able. When Things were thus order'd, they  
 set forward, being about two thousand in  
 Number. And, notwithstanding it rain'd most  
 violently, *Xenophon* march'd at the Head of

R 3

the

4 Καὶ ἔτι μὲν δέιλῃ. That is the middle of the  
 Afternoon. See the 119<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the first  
 Book.



BOOK the Rear-Guard towards the Passage before  
 IV. them, in order to draw the Attention of  
 the Enemy that Way, and conceal, as much  
 as possible, the March of the Detachment.  
 When *Xenophon*, with the Rear-Guard,  
 came to ' a Valley which they were to pass,  
 in order to climb the Ascent, the *Barba-*  
*rians* roll'd down ' vast round Stones, each  
 a Tun in Weight, with others both larger  
 and smaller. These, being dash'd against the  
 Rocks in their Fall, the Splinters ' were  
 hurled every Way, which made it absolutely  
 impossible to approach the Road. Some of

the  
 ' *Χαράδραν*. See the 25<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the  
 third Book.

<sup>6</sup> *Ολοτρόχος ἀμαξιαίης*. *Ολοτρόχος* is here a Sub-  
 stantive, like *όλοοίτροχος* in *Homer*, and used in the  
 same Sense with that in the following Verse,

Homer  
 II. N.

— *όλοοίτροχος* ὡς ἀπὸ πέτρης  
 Οὐ τε κατὰ στεφάνης ποταμὸς χεῖμα ἄρρο<sup>6</sup> ῖσιν,  
 Ρήξας ἀσπέτω ἄμβρω ἀναιδέ<sup>6</sup> ἔχματα πέτρης,  
 Τψι τ' ἀναθρώσκων πέτεται—.

Where *όλοοίτροχος* is thus explain'd by the *Greek*  
*Scholiast*, *λίθ<sup>6</sup> περιφερής, τροϊγύλ<sup>6</sup>*. *Αμαξιαῖοι*  
*λίθοι* literally signifies Stones so large, that each of  
 them was a Cart Load, or, what we call, a Tun  
 Weight.

<sup>7</sup> *Διεσφενδουῶντο*. This Word happily expresses the  
 impetuous Dispersion of the Splinters, when the Stones  
 were shatter'd by falling against the Rocks. There is  
 a Passage in *Euripides*, where this Word without the  
 Preposition is very beautifully, or rather dreadfully  
 made Use of to express the scattering of the Limbs

of

the Captains despairing to gain this Passage, Book  
endeavour'd to find out another, and em- IV.  
ploy'd themselves in this Manner, 'till it  
was dark. When they imagin'd they could  
retire without being seen, they went away  
to get their Supper; for the Rear-Guard  
had not din'd that Day. However, the  
Enemy continued to roll down Stones all  
Night, as was perceived by the Noise they  
made in their Fall. In the mean Time, those,  
who march'd round with the Guide, sur-  
priz'd the Enemy's Guard as they were sit-  
ting round a Fire: And, having killed some  
of them, and forc'd others down the Pre-  
cipice, they staid there, thinking they had  
made themselves Masters of the Summit.

R 4

But

of Capaneus, when he was dash'd to pieces by a Thun-  
derbolt just as he was scaling the Battlements of Thebes,

Ἦδη δ' ὑπερβαίνοντα γειῖσσα τειχέων  
βέλλει κεραυνῷ Ζεὺς νῦν. ἐκτύπησε δὲ  
χθῶν, ὥς-ε δεῖσαι πάρας. ἐκ δὲ κλισιάκων  
εσφενδαῖτο χωρὶς ἀλλήλων μέλη.  
Κόμαι μὲν εἰς Οὐλυμπον αἶμα δ' εἰς χθίνῃ  
χεῖρες δὲ καὶ πόλ' ὥς κύκλωμ' Ἰξίου  
ἐλίσσεται. εἰς γῆν δ' ἔμπυρσεν πίπτει νεκρός.

Euripides  
Φοῖβισσαι  
4th Act.

While o'er the Battlements Capaneus sprung,  
Jove struck him with his Thunder, and the Earth  
Resounded with the Crack; mean while Mankind  
Stood all agast; from off the Ladder's Height  
His Limbs were far asunder hurl'd, his Hair  
Flew tow'rd's Olympus, to the Ground his Blood,  
His Hands and Feet whirl'd like Ixion's Wheel,  
And to the Earth his flaming Body fell,

BOOK But in this they were mistaken, for there  
 IV. was still an Eminence<sup>8</sup> above them, near  
 which lay the narrow Way, where the Guard  
 sat: There was indeed a Passage, from the  
 Post they had taken, to that the Enemy  
 was possess'd of in the open Road. Here  
 they remain'd that Night.

As soon as it was Day, they put them-  
 selves in Order, and march'd in Silence  
 against the Enemy: And, there being a  
 Mist, came close to them before they were  
 perceiv'd. When they saw one another,  
 the Trumpet sounded, and the *Greeks* shout-  
 ing, made their Attack: However the *Bar-*  
*barians* did not stand to receive them, but  
 quitted the Road, very few of them being  
 killed in the Flight: for they were prepar'd  
 for Expedition. *Cheirisophus* and his Men,  
 hearing the Trumpet, immediately march'd  
 up the Pass which lay before them. The rest  
 of the Generals took By-paths, each of them  
 where he happen'd to be, and, climbing as  
 well as they could, <sup>8</sup> drew up one another  
 with

<sup>8</sup> Ἀνίστασθαι. From *ἵστας*; but *ἀνίστασθαι* in the best  
 Authors signifies to *draw up* any thing generally. So  
 5: B. *Dion Cassius* uses the Word, when he says *Marc An-*  
*tony* begg'd of those who were about him, to carry  
 him

with their Pikes : And these were the first Book IV.  
 who join'd the Detachment that had gain'd the Post. *Xenophon*, with one half of the Rear-Guard, march'd up the same Way those went who had the Guide, (this Road being the most convenient for the sumpter Horses) the other half he order'd to come up behind the Baggage. In their March they came to a Hill that commanded the Road, and was possess'd by the Enemy, whom they were either to dislodge, or to be sever'd from the rest of the *Greeks*. The Men indeed might have gone the same Way the rest took, but the sumpter Horses could go no other. Encouraging therefore one another, they made their Attack upon the Hill, in Columns,

him to *Eleopatra's* Sepulchre, and draw him up to the Top of it by the Ropes that hung down to draw up the Stones employed in the Structure of it :  
 ἰκέτευε τὰς παρόντας, ὅπως πρὸς τὸ μνημα αὐτὸν κομίσωσι, καὶ διὰ τῶν σχοινίων τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀνολήν τῶν λίθων κορμαμένων ἀνιμῶσι.

9 Οὐθίοις τοῖς λόχοις. What λόχοι ὀρθιοί, or Φάλαξ ὀρθία, is, we may learn from *Arrian* in his *Tactics*: ὀρθία (Φάλαξ) says he, ὅταν ἐπὶ κέρας, (or κέρως) πορεύηται ἔτω, δὲ αὐτὸ βάθος τῆ μήκους πολλὰ πλάσιον παρέχεται ὅλως τε παράμηνες μὲν τάγμα ὀνομάζεται, ὅτε περ αὐτὸ μῆκος ἔχῃ ἐπιπλεῖον τῆ βάθους ὀρθιον δὲ, ὅτε περ αὐτὸ βάθος τῆ μήκους ἥρ that ὀρθία Φάλαξ is properly an Army, and λόχοι ὀρθιοί

BOOK Columns, not surrounding it, but leaving  
 IV. the Enemy Room to run away, if they were

so dispos'd. Accordingly, the *Barbarians* seeing our Men marching up the Hill, every one where he could, without discharging either their Arrows, or their Darts upon those who approach'd the Road, fled, and quitted the Place. The *Greeks*, having march'd by this Hill, saw another before them also possess'd by the Enemy. This they resolv'd to attack likewise: But *Xenophon* considering, that, if he left the Hill they had already taken, without a Guard, the Enemy might repossess it, and from thence annoy the sumpter Horses as they pass'd by them; (for the Way being narrow, there was a long File of them.) He therefore left upon this Hill *Cephisodorus* the Son of *Cephisophon*, an *Athenian*, and *Archagoras* a banish'd *Argive*, both Captains; while he, with the rest, march'd to the second Hill, and took that also in the same manner. There yet remain'd a third, by much the steepest. This was the Eminence that commanded the Post where the Guard was surpriz'd at the Fire,

the

*ὀφθαλμοὶ* are Companies drawn up in Columns, where as *Arrian* says, there are many more Men in Depth, than in Front.

the Night before, by the Detachment. When the *Greeks* approach'd the Hill, the *Barbarians* quitted it without striking a Stroke: So that every body was surpriz'd, and suspected they left the Place, fearing to be surrounded and besieg'd in it. But the Truth was, that, seeing from the Eminence what pass'd behind, they all made Haste away with a Design to fall upon the Rear. BOOK IV.

*XENOPHON*, with the youngest of his Men, ascended to the Top of this Hill, and order'd the rest to march slowly after, that the two Captains, who were left behind, might join them: And that when they were all together, they should chuse some even Place in the Road, and there stand to their Arms. He had no sooner given his Orders than *Archagoras*, the *Argive*, came flying from the Enemy, and brought an Account, that they were driven from the first Hill, and that *Cephisodorus* and *Amphicrates*, and all the rest, who had not leap'd from the Rock and join'd the Rear, were slain. The *Barbarians*, after this Advantage, came to the Hill opposite to that where *Xenophon* stood; and *Xenophon* treated with them, by an Interpreter, concerning a Truce, and demanded the Dead.

They

BOOK They consented to deliver them, provided  
 IV. he agreed not to burn their Villages. *Xenophon* came into this. While the other Part of the Army approach'd, and these were employed in treating, all the Men mov'd from the Post they were in towards the same Place. Upon this the Enemy made a stand, and, when the *Greeks* began to descend from the Top of the Hill to join those who were drawn up in Order of Battle, they advanc'd in great Numbers, and with Tumult ; and, after they had gain'd the top of the Hill, which *Xenophon* had quitted, they roll'd down Stones, and broke the Leg of one of our Men. Here *Xenophon's* Armour-bearer deserted him, taking away his Shield : But *Eurylochus* of *Lusis*, an *Arcadian*, and one of the heavy-arm'd Men, ran to his Relief, and covered both himself and *Xenophon* with his Shield, while the rest join'd those who stood ready drawn up.

AND now the *Greeks* were all together, and quarter'd there, in many fine Houses, where they found Provisions in Abundance : For there was so great a Plenty of Wine, that they kept it in plaister'd Cisterns. Here *Xenophon* and *Cheirisophus* prevail'd upon the *Barbarians* to deliver up their  
 Dead

Dead in Exchange for the Guide. These, BOOK  
as far as they were able, they buried with IV.  
all the Honours that are due to the Me-  
mory of brave Men. The next Day they  
march'd without a Guide, and the Enemy,  
both by fighting with them, and seizing all  
the Passes, endeavour'd to hinder them from  
advancing. Whenever therefore they op-  
pos'd the Vanguard, *Xenophon* ascending  
the Mountains from behind, endeavour'd  
to gain some Post that commanded the  
Enemy, and by this Means open'd a Pas-  
sage for those who were in the Van :  
And, when they attack'd the Rear, *Cheir-  
isophus* ascended the Hills, and endea-  
vouring also to get above the Enemy, re-  
mov'd the Obstruction they gave to the  
march of the Rear. Thus they were very  
attentive to relieve one another. Some-  
times also the *Barbarians*, after the *Greeks*  
had ascended the Eminences, gave them  
great Disturbance in their Descent : For they  
were very nimble ; and though they came  
near to our Men, yet still they got off,  
having no other Arms but Bows and Slings.  
They were very skilful Archers : Their Bows  
were near three Cubits in length, and their  
Arrows above two. When they discharg'd  
their



BOOK their Arrows, <sup>10</sup> they drew the String by  
 IV. pressing upon the lower part of the Bow

with

Arrian  
 περὶ τῶν  
 Ἰνδικῶν.

<sup>10</sup> Εἰλκον δὲ τὰς νευρὰς; ὅποτε τοξέουσι, πρὸς τὸ κάτω τῇ τόξῳ τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προβαίνοντες. This Passage has, I find, very much puzzled the Translators. Both *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson* have attempted to amend it: But, without entering into the Merits of those Amendments, I shall produce a Passage out of *Arrian*, which will, I believe, not only explain this, but also shew that no Amendment at all is necessary. The Passage, I mean, is, where he is speaking of the *Indian Archers*, who, like these *Carduchians* in *Xenophon*, assisted themselves with their left Foot in drawing their strong Bows. It is this, οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ αὐτοῖσι (τοῖσι Ἰνδοῖσι) τόξον τε ἔχουσιν ἰσόμενες τῷ φορέοντι τὸ τόξον· καὶ τῷτὸ κάτω ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν θέμετες, καὶ τῷ ποδὶ τῷ ἀριστερῷ ἀντιβάντες, ὅπως ἐκτοξεύουσι, τὴν νευρὴν ἐπὶ μέγα ὀπίσω ἀπαγαγόντες. Where *Xenophon* says προβαίνοντες, which all the Translators have been desirous to alter, *Arrian* says ἀντιβάντες, which, I think, sufficiently explains it. The only Thing that remains is to take away the Comma after τόξον, that πρὸς τὸ κάτω τῇ τόξῳ may belong to τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προβαίνοντες, and not to εἰλκον τὰς νευρὰς, as both *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson* have translated it; the first having said *nervos, emissuri sagittas, versus imam partem arcus tendebant*; and *Hutchinson*, *nervos, cum sagittas missuri essent, ad imam arcus partem adducebant*: Neither of which has any Meaning, for I appeal to all my Brother Archers, (having the Honour to be of that Number) or indeed to any other Person, whether they understand what is meant by drawing the String to the lower Part of the Bow. After all this, I desire I may not be thought to claim any Advantage over those two learned Gentlemen by this Discovery, since I am entirely persuaded, that, had they chanc'd to cast their Eyes upon *Arrian*, while the Difficulties of this Passage were fresh in their Memories, which happen'd to be my Case, they would have

with their left Foot. <sup>11</sup> These Arrows pierc'd through the Shields and Corsets of our Men, who, taking them up, made Use of them instead of Darts, by fixing Thongs to them. In these Places the *Cretans* were of great Service. They were commanded by *Stratocles*, a *Cretan*. Book IV.

THIS Day they staid in the Villages situate above the Plain that extends to the River *Centrites*, which is two hundred Feet broad, and the Boundary between *Armenia* and the Country of the *Carduchians*. Here the *Greeks* rested themselves. This River is about six or seven Stadia from

the  
have made the same, or a better Use of it. *D'Ab-lancourt* has left out that Part of the Passage, that occasions the Difficulty.

<sup>11</sup> Τα δὲ τοξεύματα ἐχώρει διὰ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν θωράκων. We find the Posterity of these *Carduchians* using the same Weapons with the same Success against the *Romans* in the Expedition of *Marcus Crassus*, the Death of whose Son, who was pierc'd by these irresistible Arrows, is so pathetically describ'd by *Plutarch*. *Mark Antony* also, and his Men, in their unfortunate Retreat, felt the violent Effect of them, which drew from him this Exclamation ὦ μύριοι! Happy the ten thousand *Greeks*, who being pursued by the same Enemies, retreated with so much better Success! but alas! his Thoughts and Heart were in *Egypt*, whither he was hastening, for which Reason all the Disadvantages his Army suffer'd from the *Parthians*, were grievous to him, rather as they were Delays, than Defeats. Plutarch in Crassus and Mark Antony.

BOOK the *Carduchian* Mountains. Here there-  
IV. fore they staid with great Satisfaction, hav-  
ing Plenty of Provisions, and often calling  
to Mind the Difficulties they had under-  
gone: For, during the seven Days, they  
had march'd through the Country of the  
*Carduchians*, they were continually fight-  
ing, and suffer'd more than from all the  
Attempts of the King and *Tissaphernes*.  
Looking upon themselves therefore, as freed  
from these Hardships, they rested with Plea-  
sure. But, as soon as it was Day, they saw  
a Body of Horse, on the other Side of the  
River, compleatly arm'd, and ready to op-  
pose their Passage; and, above the Horse,  
another of Foot drawn up upon an Emi-  
nence, to hinder them from penetrating  
into *Armenia*. These were *Armenians*,  
*Mygdonians*, and *Chaldeans*, all merce-  
nary Troops, belonging to *Orontas* and  
*Artuchus*. The *Chaldeans* were said to  
be a free People, and warlike: Their  
Arms were long Shields and Spears. The  
Eminence upon which they were drawn  
up, was about three or four hundred  
Feet from the River. The only Road  
the *Greeks* could discover, led upwards,  
and seem'd to have been made by Art.

Over-

Over-against this Road the *Greeks* endeavour'd to pass the River: But, upon Trial, they found the Water came up above their Breasts, that the River was render'd uneven by large slippery Stones, and that it was not possible for them to hold their Arms in the Water, which if they attempted, they were borne away by the Stream, and, if they carried them upon their Heads, they were expos'd to the Arrows, and the other missive Weapons of the Enemy. They retired therefore, and encamp'd on the Banks of the River.

BOOK  
IV.

FROM hence they discover'd a great Number of arm'd *Carduchians*, who were got together upon the Mountain, in the very Place where they had encamp'd the Night before. Here the *Greeks* were very much dishearten'd, seeing on one Side of them a River hardly passable, and the Banks of it cover'd with Troops to obstruct their Passage, and on the other, the *Carduchians* ready to fall upon their Rear, if they attempted it. This Day therefore, and the following Night, they remain'd in the same Place under great Perplexity. Here *Xenophon* had a Dream, he thought he was in Chains, and that his Chains breaking asunder of their own accord, he

BOOK found himself at Liberty, and went whither-  
 IV. soever he pleas'd. As soon as the first Dawn  
 of Day appear'd, he went to *Cheirisophus*,  
 and told him he was in hopes every thing  
 would be well, and acquainted him with his  
 Dream. *Cheirisophus* was pleas'd to hear it:  
 And, while the Morn advanc'd, all the Gene-  
 rals, who were present, offer'd Sacrifice, and  
 the very first Victims were favourable. As  
 soon therefore as the Sacrifice was over, the  
 Generals and Captains departing order'd the  
 Soldiers to <sup>12</sup> get their Breakfast. While  
*Xenophon* was at Breakfast, two young Men  
 came to him, for it was well known that all  
 Persons might have free access to him at his  
 Meals; and, that, were he even asleep, they  
 might wake him, if they had any Thing to  
 communicate concerning the Operations of  
 the War. These Youths inform'd him, that,  
 while they were getting Brush-wood for the  
 Fire, they saw on the other Side of the  
 River, among the Rocks that reach'd down  
 to

<sup>12</sup> Ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι. I have translated this in the  
 same Sense *Homer* says of *Ulysses* and *Eumæus*,

*Homer*  
*Odyf. π.*

Τὼ δ' αὖτ' ἐν κλισίῃς Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ θεῖος ἑφορβὸς  
 Εὐτύχουτ' ἄριστον ἅμ' ἡοῖ.—

Where ἄριστον is thus explain'd by the *Greek Scholiast*,  
 τῇ ἐωθινῇ τροφῇ.

to it, an old Man, and a Woman with some Maid-Servants, hiding something, that look'd like Bags full of Clothes, in the hollow of a Rock. That, seeing this, they thought they might securely pass the River, because the Place was inaccessible to the Enemy's Horse. So they undress'd themselves, and, taking their naked Daggers in their Hands, propos'd to swim over : But the River being fordable, they found themselves on the other Side before the Water came up to their Middle : And, having taken the Clothes, re-pass'd it.

BOOK IV.

*XENOPHON*, hearing this, made a Libation himself, and order'd Wine to be given to the Youths to do the same, and that they should address their Prayers to the Gods, who had sent the Dream, and discover'd the Passage, to compleat their Happiness. After the Libation, he immediately carried the two Youths to *Cheirisophus*, to whom they gave the same Account. *Cheirisophus*, hearing this, made Libations also. After that they gave Orders to the Soldiers to get their Baggage ready. Then, assembling the Generals, they consulted with them in what Manner they should pass the River with most

BOOK Advantage, and both over-come those who  
 IV. oppos'd them in Front, and secure them-  
 selves against the others who threaten'd their  
 Rear. And it was resolv'd that *Cheirisophus*  
 should lead the Van, and pass over with one  
 half of the Army, while the other staid with  
*Xenophon*: And that the sumpter Horses,  
 with all those that attended the Army,  
 should pass in the middle. After this Dis-  
 position was made, they began their March.  
 The two Youths led the way, keeping the  
 River on their left. They had about four  
 Stadia to go before they came to the  
 Ford.

As they march'd on one Side of the River,  
 several Bodies of Horse advanc'd on the  
 other opposite to them. When they came  
 to the Ford, and to the Bank of the River,  
 the Men stood to their Arms, and first *Chei-  
 risophus*, with a Garland upon his Head,  
 pulled off his Clothes, and, taking his Arms,  
 commanded all the rest to do the same:  
 He then order'd the Captains to draw up  
 their Companies in <sup>13</sup> Columns, and march  
 some on his left Hand, and some on his  
 right.

<sup>13</sup> Λόχος ὁρθύς. See the ninth Annotation upon  
 this Book.

right. In the mean Time the Priests offer'd Book  
Sacrifice, and pour'd the Blood of the Vic- IV.  
tims into the River ; and the Enemy from  
their Bows and Slings discharg'd a Volly of  
Arrows and Stones, but none of them reach'd  
our Men. After the Victims appear'd favour-  
able, all the Soldiers sung the Pæan, and  
14 shouted, and all the Women answer'd  
them ; for the Men had many Mistresses in  
the Army.

IMMEDIATELY *Cheirisophus* with his  
Men, went into the River ; and *Xenophon*,  
taking those of the Rear-guard, who were  
most prepar'd for Expedition, march'd back  
in all Haste to the Passage opposite to the  
Road that led to the *Armenian* Moun-  
tains, making a Feint, as if his Design was  
to pass the River in that Place, and inter-  
cept the Horse that were marching along  
the Bank of it. The Enemy, seeing *Chei-*

S 3

*rifophus*

14 Οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνηλάλαζον, συνωλόλυζον δὲ αἱ  
γυναῖκες. The first is known to be a military Shout,  
the other is properly a supplicatory Acclamation of  
Women : So *Homer* says of the *Trojan* Women address-  
ing their Prayers to *Minerva*,

Αἰ δ' ὀλολυγῇ πᾶσαι Αθήνη χειῖρας ἀνέσχου.

Upon which the *Greek* Scholiast observes, Φωνὴ δὲ αὕτη II. Z.  
γυναικῶν ἐυχομένων θεοῖς.

Homer



BOOK *risophus* with his Men passing the River  
IV. with great Ease, and *Xenophon*, with his  
Forces, marching back in all Haste, were afraid  
of being intercepted, and fled with Precipitation to the Road, that led from the River up into the Country. Having gain'd that Road, they continued their March up the Mountain. As soon as *Lycius*, who had the Command of the Horse, and *Æschines*, who commanded the Targeteers belonging to *Cheirisophus*, saw the Enemy flying with so much Haste, they pursued them, the rest of the Soldiers crying out to them that they would not be left behind, but would march up the Mountain in a Body. When *Cheirisophus* had passed the River with his Forces, he did not pursue the Horse, but marched along the Bank against the other Body of the Enemy that was posted upon the upper Ground. These, finding themselves abandoned by their Horse, and seeing our heavy-arm'd Men coming up to attack them, quitted the Eminence that commanded the River.

*XENOPHON* therefore perceiving every thing went well on the other Side, return'd in all Haste to the Army that was passing over; for, by this Time the *Carduchians* were seen descending into the Plain, as if they

they designed to fall upon the Rear. *Cheiristophus* had now possessed himself of the Eminence, and *Lycius*, while he was pursuing the Enemy, with a few of his Men, took Part of their Baggage that was left behind, and in it, rich Apparel, and drinking Cups. The Baggage of the *Greeks*, with those who had Charge of it, was yet passing; when *Xenophon*, facing about, drew up his Men against the *Carduchians*. He ordered all the Captains to divide their several Companies into two distinct Bodies of twenty-five Men each, and to extend their Front to the Left, and that

S 4

the

<sup>15</sup> Ἀντὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔφετο. See the ninety-fourth Annotation upon the first Book.

<sup>16</sup> Λόχον. See the forty-seventh Annotation upon the first Book.

<sup>17</sup> Κατ' ἐνωμοτίας. See the thirtieth Annotation upon the third Book.

<sup>18</sup> Ἐπὶ φάλαγγι. This is the Reverse of ἐπὶ κέρως, which was explained in the ninth Annotation upon this Book. As therefore ἐπὶ κέρως is a Disposition, in which the Depth very much exceeds the Front, so ἐπὶ φάλαγγι is another, in which the Front very much exceeds the Depth.

<sup>19</sup> Παρ' ἀσπίδας. All the ancient Masters of Tactics inform us, that ἐπὶ δόρυ κλῖνον, ἐπ' ἀσπίδα κλῖνον, were Words of Command among the *Greeks* for the Foot; the first signifying to the Pike, that is, to the Right, and the second, to the Shield, that is, to the Left; and that the Words of Command for the Horse were the same as to the first, but that, instead of the second, they said, ἐφ' ἡμίαν κλῖνον, to the Bridle.

BOOK the Captains with the Leaders of these distinct Bodies should march against the *Carduchians*, while the <sup>20</sup> hindmost Men of every File posted themselves upon the Bank of the River.

Now the *Carduchians*, when they saw the Rear reduced to a few by the Departure of those who had Charge of the Baggage, advanc'd the faster, singing as they came on. Upon this *Cheirisophus*, seeing all on his Side was secure, sent the Targeteers, the Slingers, and Archers to *Xenophon*, with Directions to do whatever he commanded: But he, as soon as he saw them coming down the Hill, sent a Messenger to them with Orders to halt, as soon as they came to the River; and, that when they saw him begin to pass it with his Men, they should come forward in the Water on each side opposite to him, <sup>21</sup> the Darters with their

Fingers

Arrian,  
in his  
Tactics.

<sup>20</sup> Ουραγός. These in *Arrian* are, what we call the *Bringers-up*, that is, the hindmost Men of every File.

<sup>21</sup> Ακούλις-ός. The *Ακούλιον*, or Dart, was properly part of the Arms both of the Targeteers and light-arm'd Men, as the Reader will see, if he pleases to cast his Eye on the fifth Annotation upon the first Book, where he will also find that these were different Corps, and differently arm'd; so that *d'Abzac* should

Fingers in the <sup>22</sup> Slings of their Darts, and the Archers with their Arrows on the String, as if they designed to pass over, but not advance far into the River. At the same Time he ordered his own Men, when they came near enough to the Enemy to reach them with their Slings, and the heavy-arm'd Men <sup>23</sup> struck their Shields with their Pikes, to <sup>24</sup> sing the Pæan, and rush at once upon the Enemy: And, when they were put to Flight, and the Trumpet from the River <sup>25</sup> sounded a Charge, to face about to the

BOOK  
IV.

Right, should not have comprehended under the general Name of *gens de Trait*, the Targeteers, Slingers and Archers, whom *Cheirisophus* sent to the Relief of *Xenophon*.

<sup>22</sup> Διηκυλισμένους, &c. Διηκυλίσθαι, τὸ ἐνεῖραι τὰς δακτύλους τῇ ἀγύλῃ τῷ ἀκονίῳ. *Hesychius*. Ἀγύλη is what the *Romans* called *Amentum*, the Thong or Sling with which they lanc'd their Darts.

<sup>23</sup> Ἀσπίς ψοφῇ. I have said *when the heavy-arm'd Men struck their Shields with their Pikes*, because the Ἀσπίς, or Shield properly belong'd to the heavy-arm'd Men, as may be seen in the fifth Annotation upon the first Book. The light-arm'd Men being ἄνευ ἀσπίδος, as *Arrian* says there, *without a Shield*, and the Targeteers having πέλιν, a *Target* instead of it. This Custom of striking their Shields with their Pikes upon an Attack, continued among the *Greeks* in *Alexander's* Time, as may be seen in *Arrian*.

Arrian,  
Ανάβ.  
Αλεξ.  
1 B.

<sup>24</sup> Παιανίσαντες. See the 126<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the first Book.

<sup>25</sup> Ο σαλπικτὴς σημήνη τὸ πολεμικόν. This seems to have deserved the Attention of the Commentators; τὸ πολεμικὸν σημαίνειν, every body knows, signifies to sound

BOOK Right <sup>26</sup>, and that the hindmost Men of  
 IV. every File should lead the Way, and all make  
 what Haste they could to the River, which  
 they were to pass in their Ranks, that they  
 might not hinder one another; telling them  
 that he should look upon him as the bravest  
 Man, who first reach'd the opposite Side.

THE *Carduchians*, seeing those who remain'd, but few in Number, (for many even of those who had Orders to stay, were gone, some to take Care of the sumpter Horses, some of their Baggage, and others of <sup>27</sup> other things) came up boldly towards them, and began to use their Slings and Bows.

But,

*found a Charge*, as τὸ ἀνακληθῆναι σημαίνειν, *to found a Retreat*; why therefore should *Xenophon* order a Charge to be sounded, when his Men were to retreat? I imagine his Intention was, to make the Enemy fly the faster, that so they might be at a greater Distance from them, when they were engaged in passing the River; and this seems to have been the Effect of it, for *Xenophon* will tell us presently, that, when the Trumpet sounded, the Enemy fled much faster than before.

<sup>26</sup> Ἐπὶ δόρυ. See the nineteenth Annotation upon this Book.

<sup>27</sup> Ἐτέρων. I have followed the *Eton* Manuscript in translating this Word. *Hutchinson* says it should be Ἐταίρων, because *Xenophon* has very lately told us, that the Soldiers had a great many *Mistresses* with them; but in that Case it should have been ἑταίρων, not ἑταίρων.

But, when the *Greeks*, singing the Pæan, ran forward to attack them, they did not stand to receive them, (for though they were well enough arm'd for a sudden Onset and Retreat upon the Mountains they inhabited, yet they were not at all so to fight Hand to Hand.) In the mean Time the Trumpet sounded, upon which the Enemy fled much faster than before ; and the *Greeks*, facing about, pass'd the River in all Haste. Some of the Enemy seeing this, ran back to the River, and wounded a few of our Men with their Arrows ; but many of them, even when the *Greeks* were on the other Side, were observ'd to continue their Flight. In the mean Time those who had met them in the River, carried on by their Courage, advanc'd unseasonably, and repass'd it after *Xenophon* and his Men were on the other Side ; by this Means some of these also were wounded.

THE Army, having pass'd the River about Noon, drew up in their Ranks, and, in this manner, march'd at once over the Plain of *Armenia* intermix'd with Hills of an easy Ascent, making no less than five Parasangas : For there were no Villages near the River,  
by

BOOK by Reason of the continual Wars with the  
 IV. *Carduchians*. However at last they came  
 to a large Village, that had a Palace in it  
 belonging to the <sup>28</sup> Satrape, and upon most  
 of the Houses there were Turrets: Here  
 they found Provisions in Abundance. From  
 this Place they made, in two Days March,  
 ten Parasangas, till they were advanc'd a-  
 bove the Head of the *Tigris*. From thence  
 they made fifteen Parasangas in three Days  
 March, and came to the River *Teleboas*.  
 This <sup>29</sup> River though not large, was beau-  
 tiful, and had many fine Villages on its  
 Banks: This Country was called the western  
 Part of *Armenia*. The Governour of it  
 was *Teribazus*, who had behav'd himself  
 with great Fidelity to the King, and, when  
 he was present, no other <sup>30</sup> lifted the King  
 on

<sup>28</sup> Τῷ Σατραπά. See the \* after the fourth Anno-  
 tation upon the first Book.

Demet. <sup>29</sup> Οὐτῷ δ' ἦν μέγας μὲν ὁ, καλὸς δέ. *Demetrius*  
 Phal. of *Phalereus* gives great Commendations to this Period:  
*Eloquence*, He says, that, by the Conciseness of it, and its Ter-  
 Sect. 121. mination in δέ, the Author almost lays before our  
 Eyes the smallness of the River.

<sup>30</sup> Οὐδεὶς ἄλλῳ βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν.  
 See the I was desirous to excuse d'Ablancourt, when, in the  
 34th An- third Book, he made the *Persians* saddle their Horses;  
 notation but don't know what to alledge in his Defence upon  
 upon the this Occasion, where he has given them Stirrups as  
 3d Book. well as Saddles, I shall say no more than that *il lui*  
 tenait

on Horseback. This Person rode up to- Book  
 wards the *Greeks* with a Body of Horse, IV.  
 and, sending his Interpreter, acquainted them  
 that he desired to speak with their Com-  
 manders. Upon this the Generals thought  
 proper to hear what he had to say, and,  
 advancing within hearing, ask'd him what  
 he wanted. He answer'd that he was wil-  
 ling to enter into a League with them upon  
 these Terms : That He should not do any In-  
 jury to the *Greeks*, or they burn the Houses,  
 but have Liberty to take what Provisions  
 they wanted. The Generals agreed to this  
 so they concluded a League upon these Con-  
 ditions.

FROM thence they advanc'd through a  
 Plain, and in three Days March made fifteen  
 Parasangas, *Teribazus* following them with  
 his Forces, at the Distance of about ten  
 Stadia ; when they came to a Palace sur-  
 rounded with many Villages abounding in  
 all Sorts of Provisions. While they lay  
 encamp'd in this Place, there fell so great

a

*tenoit l'étrier lorsqu'il montoit à cheval*, is an unfortunate  
 Translation of βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν. It  
 is very well known that the Ancients, having no Stir-  
 rups, had a Person whom the *Greeks* called *Ἀναβόλεις*,  
 and the *Latins* *Strator*, to lift them on Horseback.



BOOK a <sup>11</sup> Snow in the Night, that it was resolv'd  
IV. the next Morning the Soldiers, with their

Generals, should remove into the Villages, and quarter there : for no Enemy appeared ; and the great Quantity of Snow seem'd a Security to them. Here they found all sorts of good Provisions ; such as Cattle, Corn, old Wines exceeding fragant, Raisins and Legu-

<sup>51</sup> Επιπίπτει χιών ἀπλεῖα. Left the Veracity of our Author should be suspected, when he speaks of deep Snows and excessive Frosts in *Armenia*, a Country lying between the fortieth and forty-third Degrees of Latitude, I desire it may be considered, that all Authors, both ancient and modern, agree that the Hills of this Country are covered with Snow ten Months in the Year. *Tournefort*, who was an Eye-witness of it, thinks that the Earth, upon these Hills, being impregnated with Sal Ammoniac, the Cold occasioned by it, may hinder the Snow from melting ; to support this, he says, that this Salt being dissolv'd in any Liquor, renders it excessive cold. This puts me in mind of an Experiment mentioned by *Boerhaave* as having been made by himself ; he says that four Ounces of this Salt being infused in twelve of Water, generated twenty-eight Degrees of Cold ; though I rather believe that the Reason why the Tops of Mountains in the warmest Climates are generally covered with Snow, while the Plains below are often parch'd with Heat, is, because the Atmosphere is vastly less compress'd upon the Top than at the Foot of those Mountains. Whatever may be the Cause, the Fact is certain. When *Lucullus*, in his Expedition against *Mithridates*, march'd through *Armenia*, his Army suffered as much by the Frost and Snow, as the *Greeks* under *Xenophon* : And, when *Alexander Severus* return'd through this Country, many of his Men lost their Hands and Feet through excessive Cold. *Tournefort* also complains that, at *Erzeron*, though situated in a Plain, his Fingers were so benumbed with Cold, he could not write 'till an Hour after Sun-rise.

*Tournefort, Letter 18.*

*Boerhaave  
Clymistry  
Part 2.*

*Plutarch  
in Lucull.*

*Zonaras's  
Annals,  
tom. 2.  
pag. 225.  
of Wol-  
sius's Edit.  
at Basil,  
1557.*

*Tournefort, ib.*

Legumens of all Kinds. In the mean Time BOOK  
some of the Men, who had straggled from IV.  
the Camp, brought Word that they had  
seen an Army, and that in the Night many  
Fires appeared. For this Reason the Generals thought it not safe for the Troops to  
quarter in the Villages at a Distance from  
one another ; so resolv'd to bring the Army  
together. Upon this they re-assembled, and  
it was determin'd to encamp abroad. While  
they pass'd the Night in this Camp, there  
fell so great a Quantity of Snow, that it  
cover'd both the Arms and the Men as they  
lay upon the Ground : The sumpter Horses  
also were so benumbed with the Snow,  
that it was with Difficulty they were made  
to rise. It was a miserable Sight to see  
the Men lie upon the Ground still cover'd  
with Snow. But, when *Xenophon* was so  
hardy as to rise naked, and rive Wood, im-  
mediately another got up, and, taking the  
Wood from him, cleft it himself. Upon  
this they all rose up, and, making Fires,  
anointed themselves ; for they found there  
many Sorts of Ointments, which serv'd them  
instead of Oil, as Hogs-grease, Oil of Se-  
same, of bitter Almonds, and of Turpen-  
tine.

Book time. There was also found a precious Oint-  
 IV. ment made of all these.

AFTER this they determined to disperse themselves again in the Villages, and quarter under Cover. Upon which the Soldiers ran with great Shouts and Pleasure to the Houses and Provisions: But those who had set Fire to the Houses, when they left them before, were justly punished by encamping abroad, expos'd to the Inclemency of the Weather. From hence they sent that Night a Detachment to the Mountains, where the Stragglers said they had seen the Fires, under the Command of *Democrates of Temenus*, because he was ever thought to give a true Account of Things of this Nature, reporting Matters as they really were. At his Return he said he had seen no Fires, but, having taken a Prisoner, he brought him with him. This Man had a <sup>32</sup> *Persian* Bow and Quiver, and <sup>33</sup> an *Amazonian* Battle-Ax; and, being ask'd of what Country he was, he said he was a *Persian*, and that he went from the Army of *Teribazus* to get

<sup>32</sup> Τόξον Περσικόν. See Page the 218<sup>th</sup> where *Tisaphernes* attacks the *Greeks*.

<sup>33</sup> Σάλαριν. Σάλαρις. κοπίς. ἡ πέλκευς. *Suidas*. Where he quotes this Passage.

get Provisions. Upon this they ask'd him of what Numbers that Army consisted, and with what Intention it was assembled. He answer'd, that *Teribazus*, besides his own Army, had mercenary Troops of *Chalybians* and *Taochians*; and, that his Design was to attack the *Greeks* in their Passage over the Mountains, as they marched through the Defile, which was their only Road.

BOOK  
IV.

THE Generals, hearing this, resolv'd to assemble the Army, and, leaving a Guard in the Camp under the command of *Sophænetus* of *Stymphalus*, they immediately set forward, taking the Prisoner with them for their Guide. After they had pass'd the Mountains, the *Targeteers*, who march'd before the rest, as soon as they discovered the Enemy's Camp, ran to it with Shouts; without staying for the heavy-arm'd Men. The Barbarians, hearing the Tumult, did not stand their Ground, but fled. However, some of them were killed, and about Twenty Horses taken, as was also the Tent of *Teribazus*, in which they found Beds with Silver Feet, and drinking Cups, with some Prisoners, who said they were his Bakers

BOOK and Cup-Bearers. When the Commanders  
IV. of the heavy-arm'd Men were inform'd of  
all that pass'd, they determin'd to return in  
all Haste to their own Camp, lest any At-  
tempt should be made upon those they had  
left there; and immediately ordering a  
Retreat to be sounded, they return'd, and  
arriv'd there the same Day.

THE next Day they resolv'd to march a-  
way with all the haste they could, before the  
Enemy should rally their Forces, and possess  
themselves of the Pass. Their Baggage  
therefore being presently ready, they set for-  
ward through a deep Snow with many Guides;  
and, having the same Day pass'd the Emi-  
nence, upon which *Teribazus* design'd to  
attack them, they encamp'd. From thence  
they made three Marches through a Desert,  
and came to the *Euphrates* which they  
pass'd, the Water coming up to their Na-  
vel. It was said the Sources of this River  
were not far off. From thence they made,  
in three Days March, fifteen Parasangas over  
a Plain cover'd with a deep Snow. The last  
Day's March was very grievous, for the  
North Wind, blowing full in their Faces, quite  
parch'd and benumbed the Men. Upon this  
one

one of the Priests advis'd to sacrifice to the Wind, which was complied with, and the Vehemence of it visibly abated. The Snow was a Fathom in Depth, insomuch that many of the Slaves and sumpter Horses died, and about thirty Soldiers. They made Fires all Night, for they found Plenty of Wood in the Place where they encamped; and those who came late, having no Wood, the others, who were before arrived, and had made Fires, would not allow them to warm themselves, 'till they had given them a Share of the Wheat, or of the other Provisions they had brought with them. By this Exchange they reliev'd one another's Wants. In the Places whete the Fires were made, the Snow being melted, there were large Pits which reach'd down to the Ground; this afforded an Opportunity of measuring the Depth of the Snow.

FROM thence they march'd all the next Day through the Snow, when many of the Men contracted the <sup>35</sup> Bulimy. *Xenophon*, who

<sup>35</sup> Εβυλιμίασαν. The Bulimy is a Distemper creating excessive Hunger; it is thus described with all its Symptoms by *Galen*: Βύλιμός ἐστι διάθεσις, καθ' ἣν ἐπιζήτησις ἐκ μικρῶν διαλειμμάτων γίνεσθαι τροφῆς.

*Galen.*  
*Med. Def.*  
*vol. 2.*

BOOK IV. who commanded the Rear, seeing them lie upon the ground, knew not what their Distemper was: But, being inform'd by those who were acquainted with it, that it was plainly the Bulimy, and that, if they eat any thing, they would rise again, he went to the Baggage, and, whatever Refreshments he found there, he gave some to those who were afflicted with this Distemper, and sent Persons able to go about, to divide the rest among others, who were in the same Condition: And, as soon as they had eaten something, they rose up, and continued their March. During which, *Cheirisophus* came to a Village, just as it was dark, and, at a Fountain without the Walls, he found some Women and Girls, who belong'd to it, carrying Water. These enquired who they were; the Interpreter answered in *Persian* that they were going to the Satrape from

Εκλύουσαι δὲ καὶ καταπίπτουσαι, καὶ ἀχρεοῦσαι καὶ καταψύχουσαι τὰ ἄκρα, θλίβουσαι τε τὸν σόμαχον, καὶ ὁ σφυγμὸς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀμυδρὸς γίνεσθαι. *The Bulimy is a Disorder in which the Patient frequently craves for Victuals, loses the Use of his Limbs, falls down, and turns pale; his Extremities become cold, his Stomach oppress'd, and his Pulse scarce sensible. The French Philosophical Transactions* speak of a Countryman who was violently afflicted with this Distemper, but was cured by voiding several Worms of the Length and 3. p. 111. Bigness of a Tobacco-pipe.

Transf.  
Philosoph.  
N<sup>o</sup>. 264.  
p. 598.  
And Com.

from the King. The Women replied, that he was not there, but at a Place distant about a Parasanga from thence. As it was late, they enter'd the Walls together with the Women, and went to the Bailiff of the Town. Here *Cheirisophus* encamp'd with all that could come up. The rest, who were unable to continue their March, pass'd the Night without Victuals or Fire, by which Means some of them perish'd: And a Party of the Enemy, following our March, took some of the sumpter Horses that could not keep Pace with the rest, and fought with one another about them. Some of the Men also, who had lost their Sight by the Snow, or whose Toes were rotted off by the Intensity of the Cold, were left behind. The Eyes were reliev'd against the Snow by wearing something black before them, and the Feet against the Cold, by continual Motion, and by pulling off their Shoes in the Night. If any slept with their Shoes on, the Latchets pierc'd their Flesh, and their Shoes stuck to their Feet; for, when their old Shoes were worn out, they wore <sup>36</sup> Carbatines made

of

<sup>36</sup> Κρεβάτιναι. Καρβατίνη μὲν, ἀγροικῶν ὑποδήματα, κληθεὶς ὑπὸ Καρῶν. *Julius Pollux.* I hope I shall be



BOOK of raw Hides. These Grievances therefore  
 IV. occasion'd some of the Soldiers to be left  
 behind; who, seeing a Piece of Ground  
 that appear'd black, because there was no  
 Snow upon it, concluded it was melted;  
 and melted it was by a Vapour that was  
 continually exhaling from a Fountain in a  
 Valley near the Place. Thither they betook  
 themselves, and, sitting down, refus'd to  
 march any farther. *Xenophon*, who had  
 Charge of the Rear, as soon as he was in-  
 form'd of this, tri'd all Means to prevail  
 upon them not to be left behind, telling  
 them that the Enemy were got together in  
 great Numbers, and followed them close.  
 At last he grew angry. They bid him kill  
 them, if he would, for they were not able  
 to go on. Upon this he thought the best  
 Thing he could do, was, if possible, to  
 strike a Terror into the Enemy that followed,  
 lest they should fall upon the Men who were  
 tired. It was now dark, and the Enemy  
 came on with great Tumult, quarrelling  
 with one another about their Booty. Upon  
 this, such of the Rear-Guard as were well,  
 rising  
 excus'd for calling these *ὑποδήματα* Shoes. All the  
 Monuments of Antiquity shew the Ancients wore a  
 kind of Sandal instead of Shoes, but, as this is not ge-  
 nerally understood, I have chosen the latter.

rising up, rush'd upon them ; while those who were tired, shouted out as loud as they could, and struck their Shields with their Pikes. The Enemy, alarm'd at this, threw themselves into the Valley through the Snow, and were no more heard of. Book  
IV.

THEN *Xenophon*, with the rest of the Forces, went away, assuring the sick Men, that, the next Day, some People should be sent to them: But, before they had gone four Stadia, they found others taking their Rest in the Snow, and cover'd with it, no Guard being appointed. These they oblig'd to rise, who acquainted him, that those in the Head of the Army did not move forward. *Xenophon*, hearing this, went on, and, sending the ablest of the Targeteers before, order'd them to see what was the Occasion of the Stop. They brought Word that the whole Army took their Rest in that Manner. So that *Xenophon* and his Men, after they had appointed such Guards as they were able, pass'd the Night there also without either Fire or Victuals. When it was near Day, he sent the youngest of his Men to oblige the Sick to get up and come away. In the mean Time *Cheirisophus* sent some from the Village to enquire in what

BOOK Condition the Rear was. These were re-  
 IV. joic'd to see them, and, having deliver'd their  
 Sick to them to be conducted to the Camp,  
 they march'd forward : And, before they had  
 gone twenty Stadia, they found themselves  
 in the Village, where *Cheirisophus* was quar-  
 ter'd. When they came together, they were  
 of Opinion that the Army might quarter in  
 the Villages with Safety. So *Cheirisophus*  
 staid in the Place he was in, and the rest went  
 to the several Villages that were allotted to  
 them.

HERE *Polycrates*, an *Athenian*, one of  
 the Captains, desir'd he might have Leave to  
 absent himself; and, taking with him those  
 who were most prepar'd for Expedition, he  
 made such Haste to the Village that had fal-  
 len to *Xenophon's* Lot, that he surprized  
 all the Inhabitants together with their Bai-  
 liff in their Houses. He found here seven-  
 teen Colts, that were bred as a Tribute  
 for the King; and also the Bailiff's Daugh-  
 ter, who had not been married above nine  
 Days. However, her Husband, being gone  
 to hunt the Hare, was not taken in any of the  
 Villages. Their Houses were under Ground;  
 the Mouth resembling that of a Well, but  
 spacious

spacious below : There was an Entrance dug for the Cattle, but the Inhabitants descended by Ladders. In these Houses were Goats, Sheep, Cows and Fowls, with their young. All the Cattle were maintained within Doors with Fodder. There was also Wheat, Barley, and Legumens, and <sup>37</sup> Beer in Jars, in which the Malt it self floated even with the Brims of the Vessels, and with it Reeds, some large, and others small, without Joints. These, when any one was dry, he was to take into his Mouth and suck.

The

<sup>37</sup> Οἶνον κριθίνον. Literally Barley Wine. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that *Osiris*, that is, the *Egyptian* *Bacchus*, was the Inventor of Malt Liqueur as a Relief to those Countries, where Vines did not succeed, which is the Reason assign'd by *Herodotus* for the *Egyptians* using it. This was also the Liqueur used in *France*, till the Time of the Emperor *Probus*, when Vines were first planted there. *Pliny* says they called it *Cervisia*, a Word probably deriv'd from *Cervoise*, which, among the ancient *Gauls*, signified Beer. *Julian*, who was Governour of *France*, before he was Emperor, vents his Spleen against Malt-Liqueur, which Necessity, or rather Ignorance, in his Time, had made the Drink of that Country. As there is a good deal of Poetry in the Invention both of the Person of this unknown *Bacchus*, and of his Qualities, the Reader may not be displeas'd to find the Epigram here :

Τίς ; πόθεν εἰ Διόνυσσε ; μὰ γὰρ τὸν ἀληθέα Βάχχον  
 Οὐ σ' ἐπιγινώσκω τὸν Διὸς οἶδα μένον.  
 Κεῖν' ἔνεκταρ ὄδωδε· σὺ δὲ τράγον· ἥ γὰρ σε Κελτοί,  
 Τῇ πενίῃ βοτρυών, τεῦξαν ἀπ' ἀσυχίων.  
 Τῷ σε χρεὶ καλέειν Δημήτριον ἢ Διόνυσσον,  
 Πυρογενὴ μᾶλλον, ἢ Βρομόν, ἢ Βρομίον.

Antholog.  
1 B.

BOOK The Liquor was very strong, when unmixed  
 IV. with Water, and exceeding pleasant to those  
 who were used to it.

*XENOPHON* invited the Bailiff of this Village to sup with him, and encouraged him with this Assurance, that his Children should not be taken from him, and that, when they went away, they would leave his House full of Provisions in Return for those they took, provided he performed some signal Service to the Army, by conducting them, 'till they came to another Nation. The Bailiff promis'd to perform this, and, as an Instance of his Good-will, inform'd them where there was Wine buried. The Soldiers rested that Night in their several Quarters in the midst of Plenty, keeping a Guard upon the Bailiff, and having an Eye at the same Time upon his Children. The next Day *Xenophon*, taking the Bailiff along with him, went to *Cheirisophus*, and, in every Village, through which he passed, made a Visit to those, who were quarter'd there; and found them every where feasting and rejoicing. They all would force him to sit down to Dinner with them, and he every where found the Tables cover'd with

with Lamb, Kid, Pork, Veal and Fowls; with Plenty of Bread, some made of Wheat, and some of Barley. When any one had a Mind to drink to his Friend, he took him to the Jar, where he was oblig'd to stoop, and, sucking, drink like an Ox. The Soldiers gave the Bailiff leave to take whatever he desir'd; but he took nothing, only wherever he met with any of his Relations, he carried them along with him. Book IV.

WHEN they came to *Cheirisophus* they found them also <sup>38</sup> feasting, and crown'd with Garlands made of Hay, and *Armenian* Boys, in *Barbarian* Dresses, waiting on them. To these they signified by Signs what they would have them do, as if they had been deaf. As soon as *Cheirisophus* and *Xenophon* had embrac'd one another, they ask'd the Bailiff, by their Interpreter who spoke the *Persian* Language, what Country it was. He answer'd, *Armenia*. After that they ask'd him

<sup>38</sup> Σκηναῦτας. *Xenophon* uses σκηνή in the same Sense in his *Cyropædia*, where he says, τὴν σκηνὴν εἰς τοὺς κοιτῶνας διέλυον, they dissolv'd the Feast to retire to Rest. *Cyrus*, *Hutchinson* has supported this Sense of the Word from other Passages out of our Author. Had *Leunclavius* attended to them, he would not have render'd this Passage, *illos etiam milites & ab Tectis reperiunt*. *D'Ablancourt* has said much better, *ils trouverent tout le monde à Table*.

BOOK him for whom the Horses were bred. He  
 IV. said for the King, as a Tribute. He added  
 { that the neighbouring Country was inhabited by the *Chalybians*, and inform'd them of the Road that led to it. After that *Xenophon* went away, carrying back the Bailiff to his Family, and gave him the Horse he had taken some time before, which was an old one, with a Charge that he should recover him for a Sacrifice, (for he had heard he was consecrated to the Sun) being afraid that, as he was very much fatigued with the Journey, he should die. At the same Time he took one of the young Horses for himself, and gave one of them to each of the Generals and Captains. The Horses of this Country are less than those of *Persia*, but have a great deal more Spirit. Upon this Occasion the Bailiff taught us to tie Bags to the Feet of the Horses and Beasts of Burden, when they travell'd through the Snow, for, without them, they sunk up to their Bellies.

AFTER they had staid here eight Days, *Xenophon* deliver'd the Bailiff to *Cheirifophus*, to serve him as a Guide, and left him all his Family, except his Son, a Youth just in the Flower of his Age. This Youth he committed

to

to the Charge of *Episthenis* of *Amphipolis*, with a Design to send him back with his Father, if he conducted them in a proper Manner. At the same Time they carried as many Things as they could into his House, and, decamping, march'd away. The Bailiff conducted them through the Snow unbound. They had now march'd three Days, when *Cheirisophus* grew angry with him for not carrying them to some Villages. The Bailiff said there were none in that Part of the Country. Upon this *Cheirisophus* struck him, but did not order him to be bound: So that he made his Escape in the Night, leaving his Son behind him. This ill Treatment and Neglect of the Bailiff was the Cause of the only Difference, that happened between *Cheirisophus* and *Xenophon* during their whole March. *Episthenis* took an Affection to the Youth and, carrying him into *Greece*, found great Fidelity in him.

AFTER this they made seven Marches at the Rate of five Parasangas each Day, and arriv'd at the River <sup>39</sup> *Phasis*, which is about

<sup>39</sup> Παρά τὸν Φάσιον ποταμόν. It must be observ'd that this is not the River *Phasis*, which falls into the *Euxine* Sea, and to which Sportsmen are oblig'd for the Breed



BOOK about one hundred Feet in Breadth. From  
 IV. thence they made, in two Marches, ten Para-  
 fangas; when they found the *Chalybians*,  
*Taochians*, and *Phasians* posted upon the Pas-  
 sage that led over the Mountains to the Plain.  
 As soon as *Cheirisophus* saw the Enemy in  
 Possession of that Post, he halted at the  
 Distance of about thirty Stadia, that he might  
 not approach them while the Army march'd  
 in a Column : For which Reason he <sup>40</sup> or-  
 der'd the Captains to bring up their Com-  
 panies to the Front, that the Army might  
 be drawn up in a Line.

WHEN the Rear-Guard came up, he  
 call'd the Generals and Captains together,  
 and spoke to them in this Manner. " The  
 " Enemy, you see, are Masters of the Pass  
 " over

Delisse. Breed of Pheasants. *Delisse* is of opinion, that the  
*Phasis* here mention'd is the *Araxes*, which falls into  
 the *Caspian* Sea, the same, whose impetuous Course is  
 so boldly describ'd by *Virgil*,

Virgil  
 Æneid. ——— *Pontem indignatus Araxes.*

8 B. 40 Παρήγειλε δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις παραάγειν τὰς λόχους,  
 ὅπως ἐπὶ φάλαγγ' ἔγνοιτο τὸ στρατεύμα. The Trans-  
 lators do not seem to have attended to the Force of the  
 word παραάγειν in this Place; it is a military Term, and  
 signifies to bring up the Files to the Front, and march  
 in a Line, in which Disposition *Cheirisophus* propos'd  
 to attack upon this occasion : This is called παραγωγή  
 by *Arrian*, the reverse of which is ἐπαγωγή, as ἐπι-  
 σάτης is of παρασάτης.

Arrian in  
 his Tac-  
 tics.

“ over the Mountain. We are therefore Book  
 “ now to consider in what Manner we IV.  
 “ may charge them with the greatest Ad-  
 “ vantage. It is my Opinion that while the  
 “ Soldiers get their Dinner, we should con-  
 “ sult among ourselves, whether it will be  
 “ most proper to attempt the Passage to-day,  
 “ or stay ’till to-morrow.” “ My Advice is,  
 “ says *Cleanor*, that, as soon as we have  
 “ dined, we should take our Arms, and  
 “ attack the Enemy ; for, if we defer it ’till  
 “ to-morrow, this Delay will inspire those  
 “ who observe us with Confidence, and  
 “ their Confidence, will, in all Probability,  
 “ draw others to their Assistance.”

AFTER him *Xenophon* said. “ This is  
 “ my Sense of the Matter. If we are obliged  
 “ to fight, we ought to prepare our selves to  
 “ fight with all possible Bravery: But, if  
 “ we propose to pass the Mountain in the  
 “ easiest manner, we are to consider by  
 “ what means we may receive the fewest  
 “ Wounds, and lose the fewest Men. The  
 “ Mountain that lies before us, reaches a-  
 “ bove sixty Stadia in Length, and, in all this  
 “ Extent, no Guard appears to be posted any  
 “ where, but only in this Part. For which  
 “ Reason

BOOK “ Reason I should think it more for our Ad-  
IV. “ vantage to endeavour to surprize some un-  
“ guarded Place upon the Mountain, and, if  
“ possible, prevent their seizing it, than to  
“ attack a Post already fortified, and Men  
“ prepared to resist: For it is easier to climb  
“ a steep Ascent, without fighting; than to  
“ march upon plain Ground, when the  
“ Enemy are posted on both Sides of us.  
“ We can also better see what lies before  
“ us in the Night, when we are not oblig’d  
“ to fight, than in the Day-time, when we  
“ are: And the roughest Way is easier to  
“ those who march without fighting, than  
“ an even Way, to those whose Heads are  
“ exposed to the Darts of an Enemy. Nei-  
“ ther do I think it impossible for us to  
“ steal such a March, since we may have  
“ the Advantage of the Night to conceal  
“ us, and may take so great a Circuit as  
“ not to be discover’d. I am also of Opini-  
“ on, that, if we make a false Attack  
“ upon the Post which is possessed by the  
“ Enemy, we shall, by that means, find  
“ the rest of the Mountain more unguard-  
“ ed: For this will oblige them to keep  
“ all their Forces in a Body. But why do  
“ 1

“ I mention Stealing? “ Since I am in- Book  
 “ form’d, O *Cheirisophus*! that among IV.  
 “ you *Lacedæmonians*, those of the first  
 “ Rank practise it from their Childhood,  
 “ and that, instead of being a Dishonour,  
 “ it is your Duty to steal those Things  
 “ which the Law has not forbidden : And  
 “ to the End you may learn to steal with  
 “ the greatest Dexterity and Secrecy ima-  
 “ ginable, your Laws have provided that  
 “ those who are taken in a Theft, shall be  
 “ whipp’d. This is the Time therefore for  
 “ you to shew how far your Education has  
 “ improv’d you, and to take Care that, in  
 “ stealing this March, we are not discover’d,  
 “ lest we smart severely for it”.

*CHEIRISOPHUS* answer’d, “ I am  
 “ also inform’d, that you *Athenians* are  
 “ very expert in stealing the publick Money,  
 “ notwithstanding the great Danger you are  
 “ expos’d

“ *Τῶας γὰρ ἔγωγε, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἀκούω τῶς Λα-  
 κεδαιμονίης, ὅσοι ἐς-ἐ τῶν ὁμοίων, εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων κλέπ-  
 τειν μελετᾶν. Those who among the Lacedæmonians  
 were called ὅμοιοι, and among the Persians ὁμότιμοι,  
 by the Greeks, under which Name Xenophon often  
 speaks of them in his Institution of Cyrus, agree very  
 well with what the Gothic Government calls Peers,  
 with us, and with the French, Pairs ; Persons of equal  
 Dignity.*

BOOK “ expos’d to, and that your best Men are the  
 IV. “ most expert at it, that is, if you chuse  
 { “ your best Men for your Magistrates. So  
 “ that this is a proper Time for you also  
 “ to shew the Effects of your Education.”  
 “ I am ready, replies *Xenophon*, to march  
 “ with the Rear-Guard, as soon as we have  
 “ supp’d, in order to possess myself of the  
 “ Mountain. I have Guides with me : for  
 “ our light-arm’d Men have, in an Ambuscade,  
 “ taken some of the Marauders, that  
 “ follow the Army. By these I am inform’d  
 “ that the Mountain is not inaccessible, but  
 “ that Goats and Oxen graze upon it, so  
 “ that, if we are once Masters of any Part  
 “ of it, it will be accessible also to our  
 “ sumpter Horses. Neither do I believe the  
 “ Enemy will keep their Post, when they  
 “ see we are Masters of the Summit, and  
 “ upon an Equality with themselves ; be-  
 “ cause they are now unwilling to come  
 “ down to us upon equal Ground.” But  
*Cheirisophus* said, “ Why should you go,  
 “ and leave the Charge of the Rear ? Rather  
 “ send others, unless any offer themselves  
 “ to this Service.” Upon this *Aristonymus*  
 of *Methydia* presented himself with his  
 heavy-arm’d Men, and *Aristeus* of *Chius*,  
 and

and *Nicomachus* of *Oete*, both with their light-arm'd. And it was agreed that, when they had possess'd themselves of the Summit, they should light several Fires. When these Things were settled, they went to Dinner, after which *Cheirisophus* led the whole Army within ten Stadia of the Enemy, as if he had absolutely resolv'd to march that Way. BOOK  
IV.

SUPPER being ended, and Night coming on, those who had Orders march'd away, and made themselves Masters of the Top of the Mountain. The others went to Rest where they were. The Enemy, finding our Men were possess'd of that Post, remain'd under Arms, and made many Fires all Night. As soon as it was Day, *Cheirisophus*, after he had offer'd Sacrifice, led his Forces up the Road, while those who had gain'd the Summit, attack'd the Enemy; great Part of whom staid to defend the Pass, and the rest advanc'd against those who were Masters of the Eminence. But, before *Cheirisophus* could come up to the Enemy, those upon the Summit were engag'd; where our Men had the Advantage, and drove the Enemy before them. In the mean Time

BOOK the *Greek* Targeteers ran on from the Plain  
 IV. to attack those who were ready drawn up to  
 receive them, and *Cheirisophus*, at the Head  
 of the heavy-arm'd Men, followed as fast as  
 was consistent with a regular March. However the Enemy that were posted in the Pass, when they saw those above give way, fled also. When great Numbers of them were slain, and many of their Bucklers taken, which the *Greeks*, by cutting them to Pieces, render'd useless. As soon as they had gain'd the Ascent, they offer'd Sacrifice, and, having erected a Trophy, march'd down into the Plain, where they found Villages well stored with all Sorts of Provisions.

FROM hence they came to the Country of the *Taochians*, making, in five Marches, thirty Parasangas ; and here their Provisions began to fail them : For the *Taochians* inhabited Fastnesses, into which they had convey'd all their Provisions. At last the Army arriv'd at a strong Place, which had neither City, nor Houses upon it, but where great Numbers of Men and Women with their Cattle were assembled. This Place *Cheirisophus* order'd to be attack'd the Moment he came before it, and, when  
 the

the first Company suffer'd, another went up, and then another; for the Place being surrounded with Precipices, they could not attack it on all Sides at once. When *Xenophon* came up with the Rear-Guard, the Targeteers and heavy-arm'd Men, *Cheirisophus* said to him, " You come very seasonably, for this Place must be taken, otherwise the Army " will be starved".

BOOK  
IV.

UPON this they called a Council of War, and *Xenophon* demanding, what could hinder them from carrying the Place; *Cheirisophus* answer'd, " there is no other Access to it but This, and, when any of our Men attempt to gain it, they roll down Stones from the impending Rock, and those they light upon are treated as you see;" pointing at the same time to some of the Men, whose Legs and Ribs were broken. " But, says *Xenophon*, when they have consum'd all the Stones they have, what can hinder us then from going up? For I can see nothing to oppose us, but a few Men, and of these not above two or three that are arm'd. The Space, you see, through which we must pass expos'd to these Stones, is about one hundred and fifty Feet in Length, of which that of



BOOK one hundred Feet is cover'd <sup>42</sup> with large

IV. Pines, growing in Groups, against which, if our Men place themselves, what can they suffer, either from the Stones that are thrown, or rolled down by the Enemy? The remaining Part of this Space is not above fifty Feet, which, when the Stones cease, we must dispatch with all possible Expedition. But, says *Cheirisophus*, the Moment we offer to go to the Place that is cover'd with the Trees, they will shower down Stones upon us. That, replies *Xenophon*, is the very Thing we want, for by this Means they will be consum'd the sooner. However, continues he, let us, if we can, advance to that Place, from whence we may have but a little Way to run, and from whence we may also, if we see convenient, retreat with Ease."

## UPON

<sup>42</sup> Δασὺ πίτυσι διαλείπυσαι μεγάλας. The Explication of διαλείπυσαι brought by *Hutchinson* out of *Suidas* and *Phavorinus*, ἀλλήλων ἀπέχουσαι, does not, in my Opinion, give the Author's Sense of it in this Place; nobody doubts but these Pines grew at some Distance from one another; but *Xenophon* means that they grew in Groups, and then διαλείπυσαι will have the same Sense with διαταχθέντες, in the second Book, where he speaks of the *Rhodiāns* being dispos'd in Platoons, for Groups in Planting and Painting are the same Thing with Platoons in Tactics. *D'Ablancourt* has artfully avoided the Difficulty by saying generally *semex de grands Pins*.

UPON this, *Cheirisophus* and *Xenophon*, with *Callimachus* of *Parrhasie*, one of the Captains, advanced, (for the last had the Command that Day of the Captains in the Rear) all the rest of the Officers standing out of Danger. Then about seventy of the Men advanc'd under the Trees, not in a Body, but one by one, each sheltering himself as well as he could: While *Agasias* the *Stymphalian* and *Aristonymus* of *Methydia*, who were also Captains belonging to the Rear, with some others, stood behind, without the Trees, for it was not safe for more than one Company to be there. Upon this Occasion *Callimachus* made Use of the following Stratagem. He advanc'd two or three Paces from the Tree under which he stood; but, as soon as the Stones began to fly, he quickly retired, and, upon every Excursion, more than ten Cart-Loads of Stones were consumed. When *Agasias* saw what *Callimachus* was doing, and that the Eyes of the whole Army were upon him, fearing lest he should be the first Man who enter'd the Place, he, without giving any Notice to *Aristonymus*, who stood next to him, or to *Eurylochus* of *Lusia*, both of whom were his Friends, or to any other Person, advanc'd

BOOK alone, with a Design to get before the rest.

IV. When *Callimachus* saw him passing by, he laid hold of the <sup>43</sup> Border of his Shield. In the mean Time *Aristonymus*, and, after him, *Eurylochus* ran by them both: For all these were Rivals in Glory, and in a constant Emulation of each other. And, by contending thus, they took the Placè: For, the Moment

<sup>43</sup> Επιλαμβάνεται αὐτῷ τῆς ἴτις. I am surpriz'd to find ἴτις render'd both by *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson*, *umbo*, when *Suidas* has explain'd it so particularly by περιφέρεια ὄπλων, and, to support that Explanation has quoted this very Passage of *Xenophon* now before us; and, for fear this Authority should not be thought sufficient to establish this Sense of the Word, the same Author quotes Part of an Inscription on the Shield of *Alexander of Phyllos*, where ἴτις is very particularly distinguish'd from ὀμφαλὸς which is properly *umbō*.

Γηραλῖα μὲν ἴτιν πολέμων ὕπο, γηραλῖα ἐξ  
ὀμφαλῶν. —————

*D'Abblancourt* has evaded this Difficulty also, by translating it generally, *le prit en passant par son bouclier*. ἴτις therefore is what *Homer* calls ἀντιξυμάχῃ, where the Ocean flow'd in the divine Shield which *Vulcan* made for *Achilles*,

*Homer* II. Εὖ δ' ἐτίθει ποταμοῖσιν μέγα σθένος Ὀκεανοῖα  
Σ. Ἀντιγὰ πᾶρ πυμάτην σάκεος πίνα ποιητοιο.

Which *Mr. Pope* has translated with his usual Elegance and Exactness,

*In living Silver seem'd the Waves to roll;  
And beat the Buckler's Verge, and bound the Whole.*

The *Latin* Translators therefore ought to have render'd it *ora*, as *Virgil* has in that Verse, where he speaks of the Javelin thrown by *Palas* at *Turnus*,

*Virgil*  
*Æneid.*  
10 B.

*Viam clypei molita per ora  
Tandem etiam magno strinxit de corpore Turni.*

Moment one of them had gain'd the A-Book  
scent, there were no more Stones thrown IV.  
from above.

AND here followed a dreadful Spectacle indeed; for the Women first threw their Children down the Precipice, and then themselves. The Men did the same. And here *Aeneas* the *Stymphalian*, a Captain, seeing one of the *Barbarians*, who was richly dress'd, running with a Design to throw himself down, caught hold of him, and the other drawing him after, they both fell down the Precipice together, and were dashed to Pieces. Thus we made very few Prisoners, but took a considerable Quantity of Oxen, Asses, and Sheep.

FROM thence the *Greeks* advanced, through the Country of the *Chalybians*, and, in seven Marches, made fifty Parasangas. These being the most valiant People they met with in all their March, they came to a close Engagement with the *Greeks*. They had linen Corsets that reach'd below

44 Διὰ χαλβων. 'Tis difficult to say what Nation these were; I am sensible *Diodorus Siculus* calls them *Chalcideans*, but we are much in the dark as to them. The Reader will however observe, that these *Chalybians* were a different People from those he will find mentioned by our Author in the next Book.

BOOK low <sup>45</sup> their Navel, and, <sup>46</sup> instead of Tassels, thick Cords twisted. They had also Greaves and Helmets, and at their Girdle <sup>47</sup> a short Faulchion, like those of the *Lacedæmonians*, with which they cut the Throats of those they over-power'd, and afterwards, cutting off their Heads, carried them away in Triumph. It was their Custom to sing and dance, whenever they thought the Enemy saw them. They had Pikes fifteen Cubits in length, <sup>48</sup> with only one Point.

They

<sup>45</sup> Μέχρι τῆ ἡτρῆ. Τὸ μέντοι ὑπὸ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν παῖν, ἀχρεῖ τῶν ὑπὲρ αἰδοῖα τριχώσεων, ἡτρών τε καὶ ὑπογάστριον. *Julius Pollux.*

2 B.

<sup>46</sup> Ἀντὶ τῶν πτερυγίων. These Tassels with which the Skirts of ancient Armour were adorn'd, are, by our Author, in his Treatise of Horsemanship, called πτέρυγες, which he says should be so large, and in so great Quantity, as to hide the lower Part of the Belly and Thighs of the Horseman, περὶ δὲ τὸ ἡτρών καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τὰ κύκλω αἱ πτέρυγες τοιχῦται καὶ τσαῦται ἔσωσαν, ὥστε σέγειν τὰ μέλη.

<sup>47</sup> Ξυήλην. Ξυήλη· ξιφίδιον, ὃ τινες δρέπαμον λέγουσι. *Hesychius.*

1 B. *ξeg.*  
136.

<sup>48</sup> Μίαν λόγχην ἔχον. This seems to have deserv'd some Attention from the Translators. What *Xenophon* calls λόγχη here, *Julius Pollux*, speaking of the different Parts of a Spear, calls αἰχμή. The sharp Iron at the other End, with which they fix'd their Pikes in the Ground, the same Author calls σαυρωτήρ after *Homer*, who describes the Pikes of *Diomedes* and his Companions in that Posture,

— ἔγχει

They staid in their Cities 'till the *Greeks* march'd past them, and then followed harassing them perpetually. After that they retir'd to their strong Holds, into which they had conveyed their Provisions: So that the *Greeks* could supply themselves with nothing out of their Country, but liv'd upon the Cattle they had taken from the *Taochians*.

IV.

THEY now came to the River *Harpasus*, which was four hundred Feet broad. And from thence advanc'd through the Country of the *Scythinians*, and, in four Days March, made twenty Parasangas, passing through a Plain into some Villages; in which they staid three Days, and made their Provisions. From this Place they made, in four Days March, twenty Parasangas, to a large and rich City well inhabited: It was called *Gymnias*. The Governour of this Country sent a Person to the *Greeks*, to conduct them through the Territories of his Enemies. This Guide, coming to the Army, said he would undertake

— ἔγχεα δὲ σφιν  
Οἱ δ' ἐπὶ σαυρωτῆρος ἐλήλατο. —

Homer II.  
K.

I imagine the Pikes of the *Chalybians* had not this lower Iron.

BOOK take, " in five Days, to carry them to a Place,  
 IV. from whence they should see the Sea. If  
 not, he consented to be put to death. And, when he had conducted them into the Territories belonging to his Enemies, he desired them to lay waste the Country with Fire and Sword. By which it was evident that he came with this View, and not from any Good-will he bore to the *Greeks*. The fifth Day they arriv'd at the holy Mountain called *Theches*. As soon as the Men, who were in the Vanguard, ascended the Mountain, and saw the Sea, they gave a great Shout, which, when *Xenophon* and those in the Rear, heard, they concluded that some other Enemies attack'd them in Front, for the  
 People


49 Οθεν πέντε ἡμερῶν ὄψονται θάλατταν. I don't know whether the *Latin* Translators have render'd this Passage with Perspicuity enough; they have said *a quo, & unde dierum quinque spatio mare conspiciuri essent*. Of which this seems to be the Sense, that the Guide said he would carry them to a Place, from whence they should see the Sea in five Days after they arriv'd there; but this is not the Sense of our Author, for it is obvious from what follows, that the five Days were to be counted from the Time he began to conduct them, not from the Time they arriv'd at the Place to which he was to conduct them: Accordingly we find that in five Days he led them to the Mountain, from which they saw the Sea. *D'Ablancourt* has said much better, *il promet de montrer la Mer aux Soldats dans cinq jours*.

People belonging to the Country they had burn'd, follow'd their Rear, some of whom those who had Charge of it, had killed, and taken others Prisoners in an Ambuscade. They had also taken twenty Bucklers made of raw Ox-hides with the Hair on. BOOK  
IV.

THE Noise still increasing as they came nearer, and the Men, as fast as they came up, running to those who still continued Shouting, their Cries swelled with their Numbers, so that *Xenophon*, thinking something more than ordinary had happen'd, mounted on Horse-back, and, taking with him *Lycius* and his Horse, rode up to their Assistance: And presently they heard the Soldiers calling out SEA ! SEA ! and cheering one another. At this they all set a running, the Rear-guard as well as the rest, and the Beasts of Burden, and Horses, were driven forward. When they were all come up to the Top of the Mountain, they embraced one another, and also their Generals and Captains with Tears in their Eyes. And immediately the Men, by whose Order it is not known, bringing together a great many Stones, made a large Mount, upon which they plac'd a great Quantity of Shields made  
of



BOOK of raw Ox-hides, Staves, and Bucklers taken

IV.  from the Enemy. The Guide himself cut the Bucklers in Pieces, and exhorted the rest to do the same. After this the *Greeks* sent back their Guide, giving him Presents out of the publick Stock, these were a Horse, a silver Cup, a *Persian* Dress, and <sup>so</sup> ten Daricks. But, above all Things the Guide desir'd the Soldiers to give him some of their Rings, many of which they gave him. Having therefore shewn them a Village, where they were to Quarter, and the Road that led to the *Macronians*, when the Evening came on, he departed, setting out on his Return that Night. From thence the *Greeks*, in three Days March, made ten Parasangas, through the Country of the *Macronians*. During their first Day's March, they came to a River, which divides the Territories of the *Macronians* from those of the *Scythians*. The *Greeks* had on their Right an Eminence of very difficult Access, and on their Left another River, into which the River that serv'd for a Boundary between the two Nations, and which the *Greeks* were to pass, emptied itself. The Banks

<sup>so</sup> Δαρεικὸς δέκα. See the eleventh Annotation upon the first Book.

Banks of this River were cover'd with Trees, which were not large, but grew close, to one another. These the *Greeks* immediately cut down, being in Haste to get out of the Place. The *Macronians* were drawn up on the opposite Side to obstruct their Passage. They were arm'd with Bucklers and Spears, and wore Vests made of Hair. They animated one another, and threw Stones into the River ; but, as they did not reach our Men, they could do us no Damage. BOOK IV.

UPON this one of the Targeteers coming to *Xenophon* said, he had formerly been a Slave at *Athens* ; that he understood the Language of these People ; “ and, says he, “ if I am not mistaken, this is my own Country, and, if there is no Objection, I will “ speak to the People.” *Xenophon* answer'd, “ there is none ; so speak to them, says he, “ and first enquire what People they are.” He did so, and they answer'd they were *Macronians*. “ Ask them therefore, says *Xenophon*, why they are drawn up against us, “ and seek to be our Enemies ?” To which they answer'd, “ because you invade our “ Country.” The Generals then order'd him to let them know it was not with a View of doing

BOOK doing them any Injury, "but that, having  
 IV. "made War against the King, we were re-  
 ~~~~~  
 "turning to *Greece*, and desirous to arrive at  
 "the Sea." The *Macronians* ask'd "whether  
 "they were willing to give Assurance of this."  
 The *Greeks* answer'd that they were willing  
 both to give and take it. Upon this the  
*Macronians* gave the *Greeks* a *Barbarian*  
 Spear, and the *Greeks* gave them one of  
 theirs ; for this, they said, was their Method  
 of pledging their Faith : And both Parties  
 called upon the Gods to be Witnesses to  
 their Treaty.

WHEN this Ceremony was over, the  
*Macronians* came in a friendly manner a-  
 mong the *Greeks*, and assisted them in cut-  
 ting down the Trees, in order to prepare  
 the Way for their Passage. They also sup-  
 ply'd them with a Market in the best Man-  
 ner they were able, and conducted them  
 through their Country during three Days,  
 'till they brought them to the Mountains of  
 the *Colchians*. One of these was very  
 large,

"Τῶν Κόλχων. We have been a long Time fol-  
 lowing *Xenophon* through Countries, the greatest Part  
 of whose Inhabitants are scarce known but by his  
 History. We are now beginning to tread upon Classical  
 Ground,

large, but not inaccessible. And, upon this, the *Colchians* stood in Order of Battle: The *Greeks*, at first, drew up their Army in a Line, with a Design to march up the Mountain in this Disposition; afterwards, the Generals, being assembled, thought proper to deliberate in what Manner they should engage the Enemy with most Advantage; when *Xenophon* said Ground, where almost every Mountain, every River, and every City is render'd famous by the Actions of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, but more so by their Writings. The *Colchians* are immortaliz'd by the *Argonautick Expedition*, but their Origin is not so generally known: *Dionysius Periegetes*, after *Herodotus*, makes them a Colony of the *Egyptians*,

Πὰρ δὲ μυχὸν Πόντου, μετὰ χθόνα Τυνδαριδάων  
Κόλχοι ναιετάασι, μετ' ἑλιδες Αἰγύπτου,  
Καυσάσθ' ἐλγὺς ἑόντες. —

*Herodotus* says they were either settled there by *Sesostris*; *Herodotus* or, being unwilling to follow him any farther, remain'd in *Euterpe* there. This he supports by several Arguments, as that they were Blacks, and had curl'd Hair, but chiefly because the *Colchians*, the *Egyptians*, and *Ethiopians* were the only People in the World that originally used Circumcision; the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians* in *Palestine* themselves acknowledging that they learn'd it from the *Egyptians*: *Herodotus* adds, that the *Egyptians*, and *Colchians* agreed also in their Way of living, and spoke the same Language: If, by the *Syrians* in *Palestine*, he means the *Jews*, as it is very probable, his Opinion opens so large a Field for Argument, that, to treat it cursorily, would not be doing Justice to a Subject of so much Consequence, and, to go the whole Length of it, would be not only invading the Province of Gentlemen much more capable of discussing it, than myself, but would also swell this Annotation much beyond its due Length.

BOOK said it was his Opinion they ought to change  
 IV. the Disposition, and, dividing the heavy-  
 arm'd Men into Companies of a hundred  
 Men each, to throw every Company into  
 a separate Column; "for, says he, the Moun-  
 "tain being, in some Places, inaccessible,  
 "and, in others, of easy Ascent, "the Line  
 "will presently be broken, and this will,  
 "at once, dishearten the Men; besides, if we  
 "advance with many Men in File, the  
 "Enemy's Line will out-reach ours, and they  
 "may apply that Part of it, which out-reaches  
 "us, to what Service they think proper;  
 and

<sup>52</sup> Η μὲν γὰρ Φάλαγξ διασπασθήσεται εὐθὺς.

The Reasons given here by *Xenophon* for attacking this Mountain in Columns, rather than in a Line, being the same with those alledged by *Polybius*, in his Dissertation upon the *Macedonian Phalanx*, for the Advantages which the *Roman* Legions had over it, I thought the *English* Reader would not be displeas'd with a Translation of this Dissertation, wherein we find a much more particular Description of the *Macedonian Phalanx*, and of all its Operations, than is to be met with in any other Author, particularly, since the 17<sup>th</sup> Book of *Polybius*, in which this Dissertation is, not being entire, has not, that I know of, been translated into our Language. From the Reasoning both of *Xenophon*, and *Polybius*, it may be gather'd that *Philip*, the Son of *Amyntas*, and Father of *Alexander* the Great, who we find, by *Diodorus Siculus*, instituted the *Macedonian Phalanx*, did not improve the *Greek* Discipline by that Institution. As this Dissertation of *Polybius* is of too great a Length to come in among the Notes, I have given it a Place at the End of this Book.

“ and if with few, we ought not to wonder, BOOK  
 “ if they break through our Line, where- IV.  
 “ ever their Numbers and Weapons unite  
 “ to make an Impression; and, if this hap-  
 “ pens in any Part, the whole Line must  
 “ suffer. To avoid therefore these Inconve-  
 “ niences, I think the several Companies, be-  
 “ ing thus drawn up in separate Columns,  
 “ ought to march at so great a Distance from  
 “ one another, that the last on each Side may  
 “ reach beyond the Enemy’s Wings; by this  
 “ Means, not only our last Companies will  
 “ out-reach their Line, but, as we make our  
 “ Attack in Columns, the bravest of our  
 “ Men will charge first; and let every Com-  
 “ pany ascend the Mountain in that Part,  
 “ where it is of easy Access; neither will it  
 “ be an easy Matter for the Enemy to fall  
 “ into the Intervals, when the Companies  
 “ are plac’d on each Side, or to break  
 “ through them, when they advance in Co-  
 “ lumns: And, if any of the Companies suffer,  
 “ the next will relieve them, and, if any one  
 “ of them can, by any Means, gain the Sum-  
 “ mit, the Enemy will no longer stand their  
 “ Ground.” This was resolv’d on, so they  
 divided the heavy-arm’d Men into Com-  
 panies, and threw every Company into a

BOOK separate Column; then *Xenophon*, going  
 IV. from the Right of the Army to the Left, spoke  
 { thus to the Soldiers; “ Gentlemen! the E-  
 “ nemy, you see before you, are now the  
 “ only remaining Obstacle, that hinders us  
 “ from being already in the Place, whither  
 “ we are, long since, hastening. These, if  
 “ we can, we ought even to eat alive.”

WHEN every Man stood in his Place, and all the Companies were drawn up in Columns, they amounted to about eighty Companies of heavy-arm'd, each of which consisted of near a hundred Men; the Targeteers, and Archers, they divided into three Bodies of near six hundred Men each, one of which they plac'd beyond the left Wing, another beyond the Right, and the third in the Center. Then the Generals order'd the Soldiers to make their Vows to the Gods, and, after they had made them, and sung the Pæan, they march'd: *Cheirisophus*, and *Xenophon* advanc'd at the Head of those Targeteers, who were beyond the Enemy's Line; these, seeing them coming up, mov'd forward to receive them, and some filed off to the Right, and others to the Left, leaving a great Void in the Center: When the *Arcadian*

*dian* Targeteers, who were commanded by *Æschines*, the *Acarnanian*, saw them divide, they ran forward in all Haste, thinking they fled, and these were the first who gain'd the Summit. They were followed by the *Arcadian* heavy-arm'd Men, commanded by *Cleanor*, the *Orchomenian*. The Enemy, when once they began to give Ground, never stood after, but fled some one Way, and some another. After the *Greeks* had gain'd the Ascent, they encamp'd in many Villages full of all sorts of Provisions. Here they found nothing else worthy of their Admiration, but, there being great Quantities of <sup>33</sup> Bee-hives in those Villages, all the Soldiers, who eat of the Honey-Combs, lost their Senses, and were seiz'd with a Vomit-

X 3

ing

<sup>33</sup> Τὰ δὲ σμήνη. The Accident, here mention'd by *Xenophon*, is accounted for by *Pliny*, and farther explain'd by *Tournefort*: The first says there is a Kind of Honey, found in this Country, called from its Effect, *Mænomenon*; that is, that those who eat of it are seiz'd with *Madness*: He adds, that the common Opinion is that this Honey is gather'd from the Flowers of a Plant, called *Rhododendros*, which is very common in those Parts. *Tournefort*, when he was in that Country, saw there two Plants, which he calls *Chamaerhododendros*, the first with Leaves like the Medlar, and yellow Flowers; the other with Leaves like the *Laurocerasus*, and purple Flowers; this, he says, is probably the *Rhododendros* of *Pliny*, because the People of the Country look upon the Honey, that is gather'd from its Flowers, to produce the Effects describ'd by *Xenophon*.

Plin. N.H.  
21 B. c. 13.  
Tourne-  
fort, 17  
Letter.



BOOK ing and Purging, none of them being able  
 IV. to stand upon their Legs. Those, who eat  
 but little, <sup>54</sup> were like Men very drunk, and  
 those, who eat much, like Mad-men, and  
 some like dying Persons. In this Condition  
 great Numbers lay upon the Ground, as if  
 there had been a Defeat, and the Sorrow  
 was general: The next Day, none of them  
 died, but recover'd their Senses, about the  
 same Hour they were seiz'd, and the third,  
 and fourth Day, they got up as if they had  
 taken Physick.

FROM thence they made, in two Days  
 March, seven Parasangas, and arriv'd at the  
 Sea, and <sup>55</sup> at *Trebisond*, a Greek City, well  
 inhabited,

<sup>54</sup> Σφόδρα μεθύουσιν εώκεσαν. *Ressembloient à des yvrognes, says d'Ablancourt.* Methinks he should have rather said à des gens jôres, for, I believe, it will be allowed that, in his Language, *un yvrogne* signifies, an habitual Drinker, and *un homme yvre*, a Man who is actually drunk.

<sup>55</sup> Εἰς Τραπεζῶντα. As this was a Greek City, the Greeks found themselves here in Safety, after their long and glorious March. The Port, which is on the East of the Town, was built by the Emperor *Adrian*, as we find by *Arrian*, who, in his *Periplus* of the *Euxine Sea*, which he dedicates to that Emperor, says, *that he was making a Port there, for, before, there was no more than a Station, where Ships could only ride at Anchor, with Safety, in the Summer-time.* ἐνταῦθα σὺ ποιεῖς λιμένα· πάλαι γὰρ ὅσον ἀποσταλείν ἔρα ἔτης, ὄρησθαι ἦν. *Tournefort* says this Port is now call'd *Platana*, and is much neglected by the *Turks*.

Arrian  
 Periplus.

Tourne-  
 fort, 17  
 Letter.

inhabited, and situated upon the *Euxine* Sea; it is a Colony of the *Sinopians*, but lies in the Country of the *Colchians*. Here they staid about thirty Days, encamping in the Villages of the *Colchians*, and, from thence, made Excursions into their Country, and plunder'd it: The Inhabitants of *Trebisond* supplied them with a Market in their Camp, and receiv'd the *Greeks* with great Hospitality, making them Presents of Oxen, Barley-Meal, and Wine: They also concluded a Treaty with them in Favour of the neighbouring *Colchians*, the greatest Part of whom inhabit the Plain, and from these also the *Greeks* receiv'd more Oxen, as a Mark of their Hospitality. After this, they prepar'd the Sacrifice they had vowed. They had receiv'd Oxen enow to offer to *Jupiter* the Preserver, and to *Hercules*, in Return for their having conducted them with Safety, and also to the other Gods what they had vowed. They also celebrated a *Gymnick* Game upon the Mountain, where they encamp'd, and chose *Dracontius* of *Sparta* (who, having involuntarily killed a Boy with his Faulchion, fled from his Country, when he was a Child) to take Care of the Course, and preside at the Game.

BOOK WHEN the Sacrifice was over, they deliver'd the Hides of the Victims to *Dracontius*, and desir'd he would lead them to the Place, where he had prepar'd the Course. This Hill, says he, pointing to the Place where they stood, is the properest Place for running, let them take which Way they will. But, said they, how is it possible for them to wrestle in so uneven, and so bushy a Place? He that is thrown, replied he, will feel the greater Anguish. <sup>56</sup> The Course was run by Boys, the greatest Part of whom were Prisoners, and the long Course by above sixty *Cretans*. Others contended in Wrestling,

<sup>56</sup> Σταδίου, Δόλιχον, Πάλην, Πύγμην, Παγκράτιον. The five Games, so much celebrated in Greece, are contain'd in the following Pentameter Verse,

Αλμα, ποδωκείην, δίσκον, ἄκοντα, πάλην.

*Leaping, running, throwing of the Disk, and of Darts, and Wrestling.* The first is not here taken notice of; under the second is comprehended σταδίου and δόλιχον, the former being a Course of six hundred Feet, τὸ σταδίου ἔχει πόδας χ'. *Suidas*. And the latter containing twenty-four Stadia, ἔστι δὲ τὸ δόλιχον καὶ σταδία. *Id.* It is possible that πάλη may, in that Verse, be taken for ἀνγκλινοπάλη, that is, that both Boxing and Wrestling might be comprehended under the Word πάλη, which, in that Case, will be the same with παγκράτιον, since this consisted both of Boxing, and Wrestling, παγκρατιασταῖς ἀθληταῖς πύκταις, οἱ ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ πυκτομαχῶσι. *Suidas*. However we find them distinguish'd by *Xenophon*, upon this Occasion.

ling, Boxing, and the Pancratiūm. All which made a fine Sight: <sup>57</sup> For many enter'd the Lifts, and, as their Friends were Spectators, there was great Emulation. Horses also ran; they were oblig'd to run down to the Sea, and, turning there, to come up again to the <sup>58</sup> Altar. In the Descent, many roll'd down the Hill, but, when they came to climb it, the <sup>59</sup> Ascent was so very steep the Horses could scarce come in a Foot-pace. Upon this the Spectators shouted, and laugh'd, and animated their Friends.

BOOK  
IV.

<sup>57</sup> Πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέβησαν. In this Sense *Horace* uses the Word *descendo*,

————— *hic generosior*  
*Descendat in Campum Petitor.*

Horat. 1  
Od. 3 B.

<sup>58</sup> Πρὸς τὸν Βωμόν. It is very probable, as *Hutchinson* has observ'd, that this Altar might be one of those taken Notice of by *Arrian*, in his *Periplus*, which, he says, were standing in his Time, and built of rough Stone.

<sup>59</sup> Ἀνω δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἰσχυρῶς ὄρθιον μόλις βάδην ἐπορεύοντα οἱ ἵπποι. Not only the Sense of the Words, but their Order admirably represents the Labour of the Horses, in climbing the steep Ascent: *Homer* has led the Way in this, as in all other Beauties both of *Homer* Thought, and Style. With what Difficulty does *Sisyphus* croud up the Stone to the Top of the Hill? *Odyss. λ.*

Λᾶαν ἄνω ὤθεσσε ποτὶ λόφον ———

And then, with what Celerity does it come bounding down?

————— ἔπειτα πέδουδε κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδής.

*The End of the Fourth Book.*



THE  
DISSERTATION  
OF  
*P O L Y B I U S*  
UPON THE  
MACEDONIAN PHALANX.

17 B.

**H**AVING promis'd, in the sixth Book, to compare, upon a proper Occasion, the Arms of the *Romans*, and *Macedonians*, and the different Dispositions of their respective Armies, as also to consider the Advantages, and Disadvantages of both; I shall take the Opportunity of their being engag'd together, to endeavour to perform my Promise. For since the *Macedonian* Disposition, recommending

mending itself by Success, formerly prevail'd over That of the *Asiatics*, and *Greeks*; and, on the other Side, the *Roman* Disposition has been victorious over That of the *Africans*, and of all the Inhabitants of the western Part of *Europe*; and since, in our Time, there has been not only one but many Trials of the Dispositions and Soldiers of both Nations; it will be a useful and a creditable Undertaking to enquire into the Difference of their Discipline, and consider the Cause of the Victories of the *Romans*, and of their excelling all other Nations in military Achievements, to the End we may not, by attributing their Success to Fortune, like weak Men, compliment the Victorious without Foundation; but, by being acquainted with the true Reasons of it, celebrate and admire the Conquerors with Justice.

As to what relates to the Battles, in which the *Romans* were engag'd with *Hannibal*, and the Defeats they receiv'd from him, it is unnecessary to enlarge upon them, since they were not owing either to their Arms, or their Disposition, but to a Superiority of Genius, and Conduct in *Hannibal*. This we have made appear in the Relation of those

those Battles: And this is farther confirm'd by the Event of the War, (for, as soon as the *Romans* were commanded by a General equal to *Hannibal*, they presently became victorious) and also by the Conduct of *Hannibal* himself, who, disliking the Arms his Men had, 'till then, made Use of, upon the first Victory he gain'd over the *Romans*, immediately arm'd his Forces with the Arms of the latter, and continued to use them ever after. It is also certain that *Pyrrhus* not only made use of *Italian* Arms, but also of *Italian* Forces, in his Engagements with the *Romans*, placing a Body of *Italians*, and of his own Men, drawn up in a *Phalanx*, alternately: However, not even, by this means, was he able to beat the *Romans*, but the Event of all their Battles prov'd doubtful. It was necessary to premise these Things, to the End that nothing may seem to contradict our Assertions. I now return to the propos'd Comparison. Many Arguments may convince us that nothing can resist the *Phalanx* in Front, or withstand its Onset, when possess'd of all the Advantages, that are peculiar to it: For each Man, with his Arms, when drawn up in Order of Battle, takes up three Feet in  
Depth ;

Depth ; and their Pikes, though originally sixteen Cubits in Length, are however in Reality fourteen ; of these, four are taken up by the Distance between his Hands, and so much of the hinder Part of the Pike, as is necessary to balance the fore Part, when presented to the Enemy : This being so, it is plain that the Pike, when grasp'd with both Hands, and presented, must project ten Cubits before each Man. Hence it happens, that the Pikes of the fifth Rank will project two Cubits, and those of the second, third, and fourth, will project more than two, before the File-leaders, when the Intervals, between the Ranks, and Files of the *Phalanx*, are properly observ'd, as *Homer* has shewn in these Verses :

*An Iron Scene gleams dreadful o'er the  
Fields,  
Armour in Armour lock'd, and Shields  
in Shields,  
Spears lean on Spears, on Targets Tar-  
gets throng,  
Helms stuck to Helms, and Man drove  
Man along.* Mr. Pope.

This being truly, and beautifully express'd, it follows, that five Pikes, differing two Cubits



Cubits from one another in Length, must project before each of the File-leaders: So that it is an easy matter to represent to one's self the Appearance; and Strength of the whole *Phalanx*, when being, as usual, drawn up sixteen deep, and presenting its Pikes, it makes an Attack. Of these sixteen Ranks, those, that exceed the fifth, cannot contribute, with their Pikes, to annoy the Enemy; for which Reason they do not present them, but each Rank inclines them over the Shoulders of That before it, in Order to secure them from above, the Pikes, by their Closeness, defending them from the missive Weapons; which might otherwise, by flying over the foremost Ranks, fall upon those, who stand behind them. Besides, each of these Ranks, pressing in File, with the whole Weight of their Body, the Rank which immediately precedes, they not only strengthen the Attack, but make it impossible for the foremost Ranks to retreat. This being the Disposition of the *Phalanx* in the Whole, and in Part, we are now to give an Account of the Properties, and Difference of the *Roman* Arms, and Disposition, by comparing them together. The *Romans* likewise, with their Arms, take up three Feet in Depth:

But,

But, as they cover their Bodies with their Shields, changing their Guard at every Stroke, and make Use of their Swords both to cut, and thrust, it happens that their Line of Battle is in a perpetual Fluctuation; this makes it necessary for each Man to have Room, and an Interval of, at least, three Feet, both in Rank and in File, if it is expected he should do his Duty; from whence it follows, that one *Roman* will stand opposite to two File-leaders of the *Phalanx*, and consequently be expos'd to, and engag'd with ten Spears, which it is not possible for one Man, when once the Armies close, to cut to Pieces, before he is annoyed by them, or easy to break through, since the hindmost Ranks can contribute nothing either to the Force of the File-leaders, or to the Efficacy of their Swords. From what has been said it may be easily concluded that, as I before observ'd, nothing can withstand the Onset of the *Phalanx* in Front, while it preserves all the Advantages that are peculiar to it: What therefore is the Cause that gives the Victory to the *Romans*, and defeats those, who make use of the *Phalanx*? It is this: military Operations are uncertain both in Time, and Place; whereas the *Phalanx* has  
but

but one Time, one Place, and one Disposition, in which it can perform the Service, that is expected from it. If therefore there was a Necessity for the Enemy to engage the *Phalanx* at its own Time, and Place, in every decisive Action, it is reasonable to conclude, from what has been said, that the latter would always prove victorious. But, if this is possible, and easy to be avoided, why should that Disposition be, any longer, look'd upon as formidable? And, indeed, it is allowed that the *Phalanx* stands in Need of an even, and open Ground, where there is no Impediment, such as Ditches, Chafms, Valleys, Eminences, and Rivers: For all these are capable of confounding, and breaking its Ranks. It must also be allowed that it is almost impossible, at least, very rare, to find Places of twenty or more Stadia, in which there is nothing of this Nature: However, admit there are such Places; if the Enemy does not think fit to engage the *Phalanx* there, but, instead of that, marches round, and lays waste the Towns, and Country of their Friends, what will be the Service of such a Disposition? Since, while the *Phalanx* remains in the Places, that are proper for it, so far is it from being able to relieve its Friends,

that it is incapable even of preserving it self; for the Enemy will easily cut off their Provisions, the Moment they have, without Opposition, made themselves absolute Masters of the Country: And, if the *Phalanx* quits the Places that are proper for it, to engage in any Enterprize, it will become an easy Conquest. But, if the Enemy, resolving to engage the *Phalanx* in an even Place, should, instead of exposing his whole Army at once to the Onset of the *Phalanx*, retreat a little till instant it charges; the Event may be easily foreseen from what the *Romans* now practise. For I desire no Judgment may be form'd of my Assertions from what I say, but from what has already happen'd: Since the *Romans* do not engage the *Phalanx* with all their Legions drawn up in a Line parallel to the former; but some Divisions of them lie behind in Reserve, while others are engag'd; so that, whether the *Phalanx* forces those who are opposite to it to give Way, or is it self forc'd by them to give Way, the Property of it is destroyed: For, in Order to pursue those who fly, or to fly from those who pursue, some Parts of the Line must leave the rest; which no sooner happens,

than an Opening is given for the Reserve to take the Ground they left, and, instead of attacking those who remain in Front, to break in upon their Flanks, or their Rear. Since, therefore, it is an easy Matter to avoid the Opportunities, and Advantages of the *Phalanx*, but impossible for the latter to avoid Those the *Romans* have over it, how is it possible there should not, in reality, be a great Difference between them? Besides, it is some times necessary for the *Phalanx* to march through, and encamp in all Sorts of Places; at others, to prevent the Enemy, by seizing some advantageous Post; some times, to besiege, at others, to be besieg'd, and to meet with unexpected Occurrences; for all these Things are incident to War, and either decide the Victory, or greatly contribute to it: And, in all these, the Disposition of the *Macedonians* is of little, or no Use; it being impossible for the Men, either in Companies, or singly, to perform any Service: Whereas That of the *Romans* is properly adapted to all; for every *Roman*, when once arm'd for Action, is equally fit for all Places, for all Times, and all Occurrences: He is also ready, and equally dispos'd either for a general, or a particular Action, to charge with his Company, or

engag

engage in a single Combat. As, therefore, the Disposition of the *Romans* is vastly superior to That of the *Macedonians* in the Use of all its Parts, so the Enterprizes of the former are vastly more successful than Those of the latter.



*The End of the First Volume.*



THE  
EXPEDITION  
OF

*Cyrus into Persia;*

AND THE  
RETREAT  
OF THE  
Ten Thousand *GREEKS*.

TRANSLATED FROM  
*XENOPHON,*

WITH  
CRITICAL and HISTORICAL NOTES,  
BY  
*EDWARD SPELMAN, Esq;*

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V O L. II.

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The SECOND EDITION.

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**L O N D O N;**

Printed for *D. Browne*, without *Temple-Bar*; *C. Davis*  
in *Holborn*; *A. Millar*, in the *Strand* *S. Baker*, in  
*Russel street*, near *Covent-Garden*, and *John Whiston*, in  
*Fleet-street*, 1749.





**T**HE following Geographical Dissertation is a Work of so much Learning, that I am confident it will be thought not only to explain, but even to adorn the Expedition of CYRUS; and though, at first, I believe, only design'd as a Compliment to my Bookseller, is received with as great Acknowledgement by the Author, as it will be with Approbation by the Publick. There are, I observe, some Points, in which this learned Gentleman differs from me in Chronology, and the Computation of the Greek Measures, or rather from Diodorus Siculus, and Arbuthnot, whom I have followed; but I could never answer it either to the Publick, or my self, if any Difference of Opinion in those Points could create in me a Wish to deprive them of so great an Improvement, or my Work of so great an Ornament.



# GEOGRAPHICAL DISSERTATION.

**I**T is observed by a late ingenious Author, that a Prince, so entirely bent upon the enlarging of his Territories, as *Lewis XIV.* was, could not be very well pleased with the Mathematicians, who measured his Kingdom : for that by fixing the true Boundaries of his Dominions, they robbed him of more Land, than he could have any Hopes of regaining by four or five of his most successful Campaigns. The *Mohammedan* Princes have still a stronger Tye ( if stronger can be than Ambition ) in this respect : Their Religion obliges them, both to extend their Borders, and to be in a peculiar manner tenacious of what they already possess. How therefore the *Grand Seignior* may relish the Measures of our modern

dern Geographers, I cannot take upon me to say; but certain it is, that they have deprived him of so much Land (which before he had an uncontested Title to) that had the *Grand Monarque* suffered in such a Degree, the World wou'd never afterwards have had any Reason to fear the *Gallick* Power.

THE *Arabians*, who are the Geographers, the *Turks* are most conversant with, lay down *Byzantium*, and the Northern Parts of *Asia Minor*, in about 45 Degrees of North Latitude; *Ptolemy* in <sup>1</sup> about 43; and the Southern Parts of *Cilicia*, *Pamphilia*, &c. in <sup>2</sup> in 36° 30'; whereas in fact the former lie in about 41°, and the latter in 37°. So that the *Arabians* make this Part

A 3

of

<sup>1</sup> He places *Byzantium* in 43°. 5'. *Bithyniæ Promontorium* 43°. 20'. *Heraçlea Ponti* 43°. 10'. *Parthenii Oſtia* 43°. 10'. *Sinope* 44°. *Halys Oſtia* 43° 10'. *Amisus* 43°. 6'. and *Trapezus* 43°. 5'. So that Mr. Greaves (*Philosoph. Transact.* N°. 178.) had no Occasion to have Recourse to *Ptolemy's Almagest. Magn.* to prove there is no Error crept into the Text, with Regard to the Latitude of *Byzantium*, since all these Places correspond with it, and particularly *Chalcedon*, which stood over against it, he puts exactly in the same Latitude, viz. 43°. 5'.

<sup>2</sup> I say in 36°. 30'. tho' I might have said less; for he places the Middle of *Rhodes* in 35°. *Xanthi Fluv. Oſtia* in 36°. 0'. *Phaselis* 36°. 25'. and *Iſſus* 36°. 25'.

of the *Grand Seignior's* Dominions four Degrees and a half; *Ptolemy*, and by far the greatest Part of the Geographers ever since, two Degrees and a half broader, than in reality it is; which considering the Length of the *Euxine* Sea, *viz.* more than 1000 Miles, is so considerable a Portion of Country, as a superstitious *Mohammedan* could not be easily brought to part with.

I think, I may venture to say, that the *Arabians* are not to be complimented, with having made any great Improvements in Geography. It is probable, the first of them made use of a faulty Copy of *Ptolemy* in laying down the Places abovementioned, or, it may be, instead of  $43^{\circ} 5'$  he mistook the Letters, and made it  $45^{\circ}$ , and the rest followed him without ever enquiring into the Truth. But for *Ptolemy*, who will, I believe, be allowed to be the greatest Geographer the World ever produced, to fall into such a Mistake, is very surprizing; when we consider, that *Herodotus* positively affirms, that a Man, prepared for Expedition, could go on foot from the *Cilician* Sea to the *Euxine* in five Days. Indeed *Ptolemy* makes a De-

In *Clio*, Cap. 72. gree

gree of the Great Circle to consist of but 500 Stadia, and consequently the Breadth of *Asia Minor* (as it is commonly called) will not be increased in proportion to the Number of Degrees, it being according to this Computation, about 400 Miles *English*: But this is a great deal too much, especially as the Country is very mountainous, for a Footman to dispatch in so short a time as five Days.

*Strabo*, from *Eratoſthenes* <sup>4</sup>, places the *Sinus Iſſicus* in the same Parallel with the *Fretum Gaditanum*; which is pretty near the Truth: But then he says again, from *Hipparchus* <sup>5</sup>, that *Narbon*, *Massalia*, and *Byzantium* lie under one Parallel. This it is probable <sup>6</sup> led *Ptolemy* into the mis-

A 4

take

<sup>4</sup> Book 2. In the Beginning.

<sup>5</sup> Book 2. pag. 106. and in other Places.

<sup>6</sup> There might another Reason be assigned for *Ptolemy's* placing *Byzantium* so far to the Northward, and that is his making a Degree of the Great Circle to consist of but 500 Stadia, whereas in reality it contains very near 605: So that the greater the Distance, the more in Proportion are the Number of Degrees increas'd; six of *Ptolemy's* not being quite equal to five of the Great Circle: And thus we find, that the Distance between *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, the Place of *Ptolemy's* Residence, and *Byzantium*, is in reality about 10 Degrees, the former being in near 31, the latter in 41; whereas *Ptolemy* increasing one Degree in five, has placed *Byzantium* in 43. However

take above mention'd. The Latitude of *Massalia* had been determin'd to, be about 43, by the Observations of *Pytheas*. He therefore placed *Byzantium* and the Shore of the *Euxine* in the same Latitude, and of consequence made all this Country almost double what it is in reality. Indeed *Strabo* proves afterwards by an odd sort of

Reasoning as *Hipparchus* in *Strabo* does affirm, that *Byzantium* is by Observation exactly in the same Latitude with *Massalia*; Φησὶ γὰρ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι λόγον τῆ γνώμονος πρὸς τὴν σκιάν, ὃν εἶπεν ὁ Πυθέας ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ. And as *Ptolemy* makes them exactly the same, viz. *μγ. ιβ. 43. 5*. I think it is most probable he was misled by those Authorities. We may from this be convinced, how little stress ought to be laid upon the Observations of the Ancients, and how far their Authority is to be relied on, with regard to the Motion of the Poles of the Earth. Mr. *Cassini*, in the *Mem. of the Acad. Royal*. has treated this Subject in a very curious and ample Manner: After which I am surprized how M. *Voltaire*, (*Philosophie de Newton*, cap. 23.) could espouse this Opinion of the Poles shifting after the Rate of one Minute in 100 Years; and affirm that the *Ægyptian* Astronomers had made regular Observations of the Heavens for two whole Revolutions of the Poles: Which makes the *Ægyptians* a very ancient Nation indeed; for two Revolutions amount to no less than 4320000 Years. This he gathers from *Herodotus*, who says, that the *Ægyptian* Annals mention the Sun's rising twice in the West. A Consequence this, which nothing but an exalted Genius could have drawn! But we must remember this Gentleman is a Poet, as well as a Philosopher.

He says, *It is allow'd by most People, that the Line which is drawn from the Streights of Gibraltar, thro' the*

Reasoning that the Parallel of *Byzantium* is much more Northward than that of *Massalia*: Because from *Byzantium* to *Rhodes*, (which lies in the same Parallel with the *Fretum Gaditanum*) he says, is allow'd by all, to be 4900 Stadia: But that from *Massalia* to the aforesaid Parallel is not quite 2500. We may presume that *Strabo*, tho' a very cautious and very modest Writer, did not attend to the Words of *Herodotus*; for if he had, he must have concluded, that upon the Supposition of *Hipparchus* and *Eratosthenes*, a Footman could travel in five Days

the Fare of Messina, Athens, and Rhodes, makes all these Places lie under the same Parallel: It is also allow'd that this Line (from the Streights to the Fare) passes somewhere very near the middle of the Sea. Now we are assured by Navigators, that the greatest Distance from France (from the Gulph of Lyons) to Africa is no more than 5000 Stadia; and consequently that this is the Breadth of the Mediterranean in the broadest Place. So that from the aforesaid Line to the farther Corner of the Gulph of Lyons, must be 2500 Stadia; and to Massalia somewhat less, because it stands more Southward than the Bite of the Bay. But from Rhodes to Byzantium is 4900 Stadia; so that the Parallel of Byzantium must be a great deal more Northward (*πολύ ἀρχικώτερος*) than that of Massalia. Pag. 115. The Fallacy of this Argument is quickly perceived, by only casting an Eye upon any common Map, where we shall find that the Difference of Latitude between Rhodes and Constantinople, is not four Degrees, that is, not 2500 Stadia, and that the Parallel of the Streights runs into the Coast of Africa.



Days the whole Breadth of *Spain*, that is, from the *Fretum Gaditanum* (the Streights of *Gibraltar*) to the *Mare Cantabrium*, (the Bay of *Biscay*) and upon his own Supposition is much less; either of which a Man of his Intelligence must know to be quite impracticable.

ALL that can be said in this case is, that the greatest Part of the Ancients looked upon *Herodotus*, as an Author, that indulged himself too much in the Privilege of Travellers; and therefore in general seem to give very little Credit to what he advances: Tho' Time and Experience have at last convinced the World, that he had a Genius superior to the rest of Mankind; that his Diligence and Veracity were equal to his Genius; and that he, like our Countryman *R. Bacon*, discovered Truths too sublime for the Contemplation of the Age he lived in.

THIS I thought proper to premise, because several modern Map-makers, and  
 \* some late Authors still adhere to *Ptolemy*,  
 in

\* Some of these Mr. *Spelman* has follow'd in his 31st Annotation upon the 4th Book, where he says, that *Armenia* lies between the 40th and 43d Degrees of Latitude; whereas *Trebisond* lies in 41°. 4'. so that *Armenia* cannot reach at most to above forty and a half.

in placing *Byzantium* and the *Euxine* two Degrees too far to the Northward. I shall for the future confine myself to the proper Subject of this Dissertation, *viz.* to the Rout which the *Greek Army* took, in their Expedition to *Babylon*, and in their Return back again.

*XENOPHON* begins his Account of their March from *Sardes*, the Capital of *Lydia*, because he there join'd the Army; but afterwards constantly computes from *Ephefus*, the Sea-Port from whence he began his Journey. They directed their March thro' the Middle of the Country; thro' *Lydia*, *Phrygia*, *Lycaonia*, *Cappadocia*, and <sup>10</sup> *Cilicia*, to the Gates of *Syria*, near the upper End of *Sinus Issicus*.

FROM

<sup>9</sup> I shall speak more particularly of this March, when I come to take Notice of M. *Deffle's* Computations.

<sup>10</sup> I wou'd recommend the following Passage in *Diodorus Siculus*, to the Consideration of the next Editor of that Author, 'Ο δὲ ΚῦρⓈ, ἐπειδὴ διήλθε τὴν Κιλικίαν, καὶ παραγευήθη πρὸς πόλιν Ἰσσοῦν, ἐπὶ θαλάττης μὲν κειμένην, ἐσχάτην δ' οὔσαι τῇ Κιλικίας, καταπλευσας εἰς αὐτήν. *Booth* translates it, *Having marched almost through all Cilicia, he took Shipping, and arrived at last by Sea at Issus, the utmost City of that Country, near the Sea-side.* Which is indeed a verbal Translation of the *Latin Version*; but how to reconcile it with the Original, or with *Xenophon's* Account of this March, I confess, I cannot tell.

FROM thence they proceeded to *Myriandrus*, a Sea-Port Town of which no Footsteps, that I can hear of, at present remain. *Ptolemy* " places it 20 Minutes South of *Alexandria penes Iffum*, (*Scanderûn*) upon the same Meridian : But whoever casts his Eye upon the Chart of the Bay of *Scanderûn*, will soon perceive this to be impossible ; because the Bay lies near North-East and South-West, and both these Towns stood upon the Shore. All that we can gather from it is, that they were distant from each other 20 of *Ptolemy's* Minutes, *i. e.* 19 *English* Miles ; and that therefore *Myriandrus* is to be placed at the Entrance into the Bay, just within the *Scopulus Rhossicus*, now called, *Ras al Khanzir*.

FROM hence the Army in four Days March made 20 *Parasangas*, (in our Language *Leagues*) and came to the River *Chalus*, very justly by the great *Delisse* supposed to be the *Chalib*, or *Alep*, the River of *Aleppo* ; because the Name is not  
only

" *Alexandria penes Iffum* Long. 69°. 10'. Lat. 36°. 10'. *Myriandrus* 69°. 10' Lat. 35°. 50'. Mr. *Delisse* has placed this Town 15 Minutes to the North of *Alexandrete*.

only the same, allowing for the different Genius of Languages; but the Distance shews it can be no other. For as *Aleppo* is about 20 small Hours Journey from *Scanderûn*; so it must be something more from *Myriandrus*, which lay near South-West from the latter of those Places; and as there lies a great Bog in the direct Road, which was made passable but of late Years, and which *Cyrus's* Army was to go almost round; we may conclude, that all these put together, must make the Distance from *Myriandrus* to the *Chalus*, 20 *Parasangas*, or *Persian* Leagues. In mentioning the *Chalus*, I cannot but make one Remark, and that is, that it is in one respect very different from what it was formerly. *Xenophon* says, it was full of Fish in his time; and gives a very good Reason for it. *Rauwolf*<sup>12</sup> says, there is great Scarcity of Fish at *Aleppo*, tho' the Inhabitants do not esteem them: But the Reason he gives for their Indifference to this sort of Victuals, seems to me a little extraordinary; he says, *It is because most of them drink Water instead of Wine.*

FROM

<sup>12</sup> Because the Inhabitants of that Country worshipped them as Gods. *Vid.* Vol. I. pag. 44.

<sup>13</sup> Travels published by *J. Ray*, Part. I. c. 8.

FROM the *Chalus*, in five Days March, they made 30 *Parasangas*, and came to the Sources of the River *Daradax*, which *Xenophon* affirms to be 100 Feet broad; by which we must naturally conclude, that the Army marched along the Bank of it a considerable way; because we cannot suppose any River in this Country, the Edge of the Desert of *Arabia*, to be 100 Feet in breadth at the Source. What River this was, or what is the present Name of it, is difficult, perhaps impossible, to determine. The *Plethrum*, or Measure of 100 Feet, is but a lax way of reckoning, and might perhaps be applied to Rivers a <sup>14</sup> great deal less than 100 Feet in Breadth: as our <sup>15</sup> Measures in modern Times are often applied to Rivers in a very random manner. However, as modern Travellers take no Notice of any such River, we must

<sup>14</sup> Thus we find *Xenophon* applies this Measure of 100 Feet to some of the Rivers of *Cilicia*, which other Authors call no more than Brooks falling from Mount *Taurus* cross a small Plain into the Sea.

<sup>15</sup> In this manner *Rauwolf* says, the *Euphrates* is half a League broad at *Babylon*; whereas Sir *Thomas Herbert* says, it is only almost double the Breadth of the *Thames* at *London*. At *Bir*, *Rauwolf* says, 'tis a Mile broad; *Maundrel*, that it is as broad as the *Thames* at *London*.

must let it rest as it is, till more satisfactory Discoveries are made in these Parts. What surprizes me most in this very particular Account of their March, is, that our Author takes no Notice of the River, now called <sup>16</sup> *Ephrin*, about half way between the Bay of *Scanderûn* and *Aleppo*; and which the Army must of necessity pass in their March to the East: for it rises in the Mountains above *Korus*, and falls into the Lake of *Antioch*. This River is at least as considerable as the *Chalus*, and much more so, I dare venture to say, than any River between *Aleppo* and the *Euphrates*. This, among a great many others, some of which I shall have occasion to mention in the sequel of this Discourse, does almost prevail upon me to think, that *Xenophon* kept no Journal, at least no regular

<sup>16</sup> *Tavernier* mentions two Rivers between *Alexandretta* and *Aleppo*; over the first, he says, is a *Bridge very long and strongly built*, Book II. cap. 1. But in this he is mistaken, the Bridge and Causeway being laid over the Bog above mention'd; the other he calls *Afrora*, and says, that upon Rains it is not fordable: This is the *Efrin*, the Fording of which does frequently so much Damage to the Bales of Goods, that our *Turkey* Merchants, some Years ago, proposed to build a Bridge over it at their own Expence: But the *Turk* would not consent, and so the Design was dropped.

lar one, of this Expedition; but that he drew it up a great many Years afterwards, at his leisure in his <sup>17</sup> Exile, from the several Particulars, which must have made a very strong Impression upon his Memory.<sup>1</sup> This will not seem so strange, when we consider, that, in *Xenophon's* Days, Writing was not, what it is in ours; the Materials were not easy to be had, nor were they easy to be carried in such Marches, as they performed.

FROM the Source of the *Daradax*, they marched in three Days fifteen *Parasangas* to *Thapsacus* upon the *Euphrates*. This City, tho' nothing at present remains of it but the Name, was formerly a place of great Note: It was the Frontier-Town of the Kingdom of *Israel* in the Days of *David* and *Solomon*; for it is said 1 *Kings* iv. 24. that *Solomon* הוא רדה בכל עבר הנהר כתפסח ועד עזה; *that is, He had Dominion over all on this Side the River, from Thapsakh even to Ngaza, over all the Kings on this Side the River, viz. the Euphrates.* Our Translators have rendered

<sup>17</sup> I shall speak of this more particularly towards the End of this Dissertation.

dered them *Tiphfab* and *Azzah*, which puts such a Disguise upon these two noted Cities, that, I dare to say, very few People upon seeing these Names in the Bible, have been able to know them. Such Confusion has the *Pointing* of the *Hebrew* brought into that primitive and sacred Language! *Thapsakh*, in the Original signifies a *Pass*, or *passing over*, or perhaps in this place more properly a *Ford*: For as in our Nation, there are at present Bridges over most of the Rivers at such Places as end in *Ford*, such as *Oxford*, *Wallingford*, *Hertford*, and the like; yet it is certain that these Names were given them from *fording* the Rivers at those Places before Bridges were built. In like manner it is more than probable, that *Thapsakh* was so called from the *Euphrates* being fordable at that Place; because it was a Town of Note in *David's* Time, and consequently must have had its Name long before, in those times of simple Nature, when Ferry-Boats and Bridges of Boats were not invented. *Ptolemy* makes the *Euphrates* fordable here, and *Rauwolf*, about the same Place, found the River so full of Shoals, that, tho' their Boats cou'd



draw but little Water, the Navigation was extremely dangerous. And indeed *Menon*, who was a Man of great Cunning, must have drawn this Secret from some-body, else it can scarce be supposed, he would attempt to pass a River, near half an *English* Mile in Breadth, that is, broader than the *Thames* at *Woolwich*. This I have been the more particular in, with a Design to shew what a notable Compliment the Inhabitants of *Thapsacus* paid *Cyrus*, when they told him that the Gods had wrought a Miracle in his Favour, by making the *River*, the *Great River* to submit to his Authority ; in as much as it was never known to be fordable before this time.

I cannot here pass without taking Notice of a great Error crept into the Copies of *Strabo* ; where speaking of *Alexander's* Design of subduing the *Arabs*, he tells us, *That Great Conqueror, seeing the Impossibility of attacking them by Land, proposed to build a great Quantity of Boats in Phoenicia and Cyprus, and*<sup>18</sup> *transporting*

<sup>18</sup> Book XVI. pag. 741. "Α κοιμισθέντα εἰς Θάλασσαν, σταδίοις ἐπὶ τὰ, εἴτα τῷ ποταμῷ κατακομισθῆναι μέχρι Βαβυλῶνος. It is certain that *Strabo* in composing

ing them seven Stadia to Thapsacus, to convey them by means of the River to Babylon. Which makes it not a Mile from the Coast of the *Mediterranean* to *Thapsacus*, whereas it must be at least 150. I cannot find that any of the learned Men, who have made their Observations upon this Author, have taken any Notice, much less made any Attempt towards the clearing up, of this Passage.

*Pliny*, *Stephanus* of *Byzantium*, and *Lucan* affirm, that *Alexander* passed the *Euphrates* at *Zeugma*, (a Place near 230 Miles higher up the River than *Thapsacus*) contrary to the Authority of all other Historians, and the Nature of the thing itself; for as *Alexander* was at *Tyre* in his Return from *Egypt*, and was to direct his March towards *Arbela*, it wou'd have been

a 2

near

posing such a Work; as his Geography is, must consult a very great Variety of Authors: And tho' he himself always makes use of the *Stadium* in computing of Distances, yet in transcribing other Writings, he might sometimes be forced to adopt other Terms: For Instance in this Place, he might meet with *σταδίοις ἐπὶ τὰ*; and put it down so, as not being able to determine the exact Quantity: Which some ignorant Scribe, seeing *σταδίοις* in all other Places made use of, might change, and think he had done his Author great Service.

near 400 Miles out of his Way to have gone to *Zeugma*. What might probably lead *Pliny* and the rest into this Mistake, was the Name of the Place : For <sup>19</sup> *Zeugma* was so called, because a Bridge was laid over the *Euphrates* there : And as there was also a Bridge over the *Euphrates* at *Thapsacus*, it might easily lead Authors at so great a Distance into such a Mistake. The Reason Mr. *Hutchinson* gives, viz. that <sup>20</sup> *These Authors must speak of different Expeditions*, sounds somewhat strange to me ; because it is certain that *Alexander* made but one Expedition against the *Persian* ; at least (which is most to our Purpose) that he never passed

<sup>19</sup> What *Pliny* says, Book V. cap. 26. *Scinditur Euphrates à Zeugmate octoginta tribus millibus passuum ; & parte læva in Mesopotamiam, vadit per ipsam Seleuciam, circa eam præfluente infusus Tigri*, is sufficient to persuade us that either there is some Error in the Text, or that *Zeugma*, was a lax Term applied to several Places ; for *Zeugma*, properly so called, stood somewhere near the Place where *Bir* now stands, from whence to the End of the Mountains of *Mesopotamia*, is near 300 Miles ; and from thence to the plain Country of *Babylonia*, where this Division most assuredly was, must be above 400 Miles : so that instead of 80, perhaps it should be 800.

<sup>20</sup> *De diversis nimirum Expeditionibus intelligendæ videntur discrepantes auctorum Narrationes.* Dissert. pag. 8.

passed the *Euphrates* but once in these Parts.

As to *Ptolemy's* placing *Thapsacus* in *Arabia Deserta*, whereas all other Authors place it in *Syria*, it is but very little material; because tho' it is really within the Limits of *Syria*, yet it stands <sup>21</sup> in the Desert, which adjoins to *Arabia*. This great Geographer places *Thapsacus* in 35 Degrees of Latitude: But as he puts all the Sea-Coast half a Degree too far towards the South, so I have ventured to place this in 35° 30'.

THE Army having passed the *Euphrates*, marched upon the Banks of it, for the most part: I say, for the most part, because they did not do it constantly; since *Xenophon* tells us, *Pag. 56.* that *Some of their Marches were very long, when Cyrus had a mind the Army shou'd go on, till they came to Water or Forage.* Now they cannot be supposed to quicken their Marches for want of Water, while they travelled upon the Bank of so fine a River.

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We

<sup>21</sup> The Desert begins two or three Leagues from *Aleppo*. *Tavernier*, Book II. c. 3.

We are but little acquainted with the Course of the *Euphrates*, tho' several modern Travellers have sail'd down it. It is probable, that the River makes some great Windings towards the South, where no Man, that is acquainted with the Country, wou'd keep to the Bank of it: One of these *Rauwolf* mentions, <sup>22</sup> which took them up more than half a Day to pass.

*STRABO* makes the Distance between *Thapsacus* and *Babylon*, following the Course of the *Euphrates* (that is the Rout this Army took) <sup>23</sup> to be 4800 Stadia; and as it is repeated very often, we may depend upon it, there is no Error crept into the Text: And as the *Greeks* in *Alexander's* Time, and for several Years afterwards travelled this Way, the Distance must be very well known. However *Xenophon* in his Account of this March makes it

<sup>22</sup> He says, that on the 9th of October they came to a Point call'd Eufy, which took 'em up more than half a Day to pass. So that if they were above half a Day in reaching the Point, it is probable that the Bent of the River was more than double, and must take 'em more than a Day to get round; which cou'd not be an inconsiderable Distance, as the Stream was in their Favour.

Book II. pag. 80, &c.

it a great deal more, as we shall see by laying the several Numbers together, *viz.*

|                                                                        |        |                    |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|--------------------|----|
|                                                                        |        | <i>Parasangas.</i> |    |
| From <i>Thapsacus</i> , thro' <i>Syria</i> , to the                    | }      |                    |    |
| River <i>Araxes</i> , in 9 Days,                                       |        |                    | 50 |
| To the River <i>Masca</i> , unknown to                                 | }      |                    |    |
| modern Writers, in 5 Days,                                             |        |                    | 35 |
| To <i>Pylæ</i> , in 13 Days,                                           | -      | -                  | 90 |
| In <i>Babylonia</i> , 3 Days,                                          | -      | -                  | 12 |
| March in Order of Battle, <i>p.</i> 78.                                | 1 Day, |                    | 3  |
| March with less Circumspection                                         | 1      | }                  | 3  |
| Day, suppose,                                                          | -      |                    |    |
| It is plain from what is said concerning the Retreat of <i>Ariæus</i>  | }      |                    | 4  |
| after the Battle, <i>p.</i> 102, that upon the Day of Battle, they had |        |                    |    |
| marched                                                                |        |                    |    |

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197

Which amounts to no less than 5910 *Stadia*: Now if we consider that they were yet a considerable Distance <sup>a</sup> on this side *Babylon*, (*Plutarch* says 500 *Stadia*) we must perceive this Account swell'd prodigiously

a 4

<sup>1</sup> This River *Rauwolf* calls *Chabu*, (not observing the *r* in the Termination) and says there is a Castle named *Sere* at the Mouth of it, *P.* II. c. 5. There was a Castle in this Place in the Days of *Julian* the Apostate, which *Zosimus* calls *Circesum*, Book III.

<sup>2</sup> *Xenophon* says no less than 3060 *Stadia*, but this I shall speak more particularly to by and by.

giously above the Truth. All the Solution that I can pretend to give to this Difficulty is, that the *Persians* who were the Guides of this Expedition, must mark out the Distances according to their Fancies: That excessive Heat and Hunger are Companions, that make a Journey seem tedious and long; and consequently when their *Persian* Friends told them they had march'd so many *Parasangas*, the *Greeks* made no Hesitation to believe them, in order to rest themselves. And indeed if we attentively consider the Marches, as set down in *Xenophon*, we shall find most of them too long for so great an Army to perform, especially as they must have a prodigious Quantity of Carriages along with them, not only to convey their Provisions, but also the Accoutrements of the heavy-armed Men. For instance, from the *Araxes* to the *Masca*, they marched in five Days 35 *Parasangas*; that is, above 24 Miles a Day. From *Masca* to *Pyle*, they dispatched in 13 Days 90 *Parasangas*, which is very near 24 Miles one Day with another; too much to be performed by an Army of near 120000 Men, in the middle of Summer, in the Latitude of 34, and with such great Numbers

bers of Attendants, as they must of necessity have along with them.

IN marching thro' the Country of *Babylon*, they came to the Canals which were cut between the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, in order, as most Authors agree, to circulate the Waters of the latter, which would otherwise drown all the adjacent Country, when the Snows melt upon the *Armenian* Mountains. *Xenophon* says, these Canals fall out of the *Tigris* into the *Euphrates*; whereas <sup>†</sup> *Strabo* and *Pliny* say the contrary, and *Arrian* goes so far as to affirm, that the Level of the *Tigris* is much lower, than that of the *Euphrates*; so that the Water must necessarily run always one way. Our modern Travellers inform us, that the Country between these two Rivers, is, in these Parts, rich low Land, something like the Province of *Holland*: So that it is more than probable, that these Canals were cut to circulate the Waters of the one River as much as the other; and that as the *Tigris* is by much the most rapid of the two, the Water must come down with greater  
fury,

<sup>†</sup> See Mr. *Spelman's* 115th Annotation upon the first Book.



fury, and stand in more need of being diverted when it arrived in the level Country. It is worth our Observation, that these two great Rivers cou'd never swell at the same season; because as the Mountains out of which the *Tigris* rises, lie in the South of *Armenia*, and those in which the *Euphrates* has its Source in the North, it is certain that the Snows upon the former must melt sooner, than those upon the latter. Accordingly we find the Author of *Ecclesiasticus* mentions the overflowing of the *Tigris* <sup>4</sup> in the latter End of *March* and Beginning of *April*. And *Pliny* assures us, that the *Euphrates* overflows in <sup>5</sup> *July* and *August*. It might so happen, that the *Greek* or *Roman* Travellers, from whom these Authors cou'd have had their Intelligence, (as all Travellers generally choose the Spring to perform long Journeys in) might not arrive

<sup>4</sup> Chap. xxiv. v. 25. *Pliny* also says, that the *Tigris* overflows in such a Manner, as to run into a River which falls into the *Euphrates*. B. VI. c. 27. Now if it does this in the upper Parts, where its Current is so very swift, as to merit the Appellation of *Arrow*, what can we expect in the lower Country, where the Land is flat, and its Stream more gentle?

<sup>5</sup> *Increfcit (nempe Euphrates) flatis diebus, Mesopotamiam inundans, fole obtinente vicesimam partem Cancrici: quinui incipit in Virgine, Leone transgreffo. In totum vero reueat in vicesima nona parte Virginis* B. V. 26.

arrive at *Babylon* early enough in the Season to see any thing of the Rise of the *Tigris*. But having spent *March, April, May*, and perhaps *June*, in their Journey, they must find the Channel of the *Euphrates* quite full, and discharging its superfluous Waters with great Rapidity into the *Tigris*; sufficient to persuade any common Observer, that the Level of the former must be above that of the latter. However, had it been so in reality, the *Euphrates* must quickly have forsook his old Course, and in a few Years have join'd the *Tigris* by one or more of these Canals: For *Strabo* and modern Observers have assured us, that the Land between these Rivers is fat and very rotten, and consequently must soon have been worn deep and broad enough, to convey any Quantity of Water, which for a constancy could run thro' it. When our Author was in this Country, I find by Computation was towards the latter end of *September*, a Time when both the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* must be very low; and therefore some Art must be used in order to make these Canals so full of Water. *Clearchus*, we see, suspected this to be the Case, (*vid. p. 133.*) and no doubt but that he had good Reason

Reason for these Suspicions. The *Tigris* was much the smaller River of the two, and consequently the more managable : It is therefore probable, that they had some Works in it, in order to raise the Water to a proper Height ; and that when *Cyrus* approached with his Army, it is likely the King order'd the Country to be laid under Water, as far as they were able to do it, with a Design to retard and harass 'em as much as possible. This wou'd turn the Water thro' the Canals into the *Euphrates*, and may be the Reason why *Xenophon* differs from other Authors in this particular.

SPEAKING of the Magnitude of the *Euphrates*, puts me in mind of what *Strabo* says of it ; where he informs us, that it run thro' the Middle of ancient *Babylon*, and was a Stadium in Breadth, 'Ο γὰρ ποταμὸς διὰ μέσον πέι τῆς παλίας σταδίων τὸ πλάτος : Which *Cabmet*, with the generality of <sup>7</sup> modern Writers,

<sup>6</sup> *Book XVI. p. 738.*

<sup>7</sup> Dean *Prideaux* Connec. *Part I. Book II.* adheres to this Sense of *Strabo*, tho' he quotes *Diodorus Siculus*, who tells us *Book II. That the Bridge of Babylon was five Stadia long.* Now instead of correcting *Strabo* by such an Authority, he gives it this unnatural Turn, viz. that *the Bridge must be a great deal longer than the River was broad* : Tho' he himself has  
but

Writers, take for granted, without examining what Difficulties such an Assertion is loaded with. *Xenaphon*, who forded it himself, affirms, that this River is four *Stadia* broad at *Thapfacus*, above 500 Miles higher than *Babylon*; and all the World is sensible, that Rivers do not grow narrower the further they proceed in their Course. What surprizes me most is, that *Calmet* should fall into this Mistake, when he had *Rauwolf* before him, and quotes him in this very Article, as an Author of considerable Credit. This Writer travelled thro' these Parts near 200 Years ago, and speaking of the Bridge of *Babylon* (some of the Piers of which at this Day remain) says thus; *The Arches of it are built of burnt Brick, and so strong that it is admirable; and that so much the more, because all along the River, as we came from Bir, where the River is a great deal smaller, we saw never a Bridge; wherefore, I say, it is admirable which way they could build a Bridge here, where the River is at least*

<sup>8</sup> HALF

but just before told us, that the Person, who built this Bridge, had banked up the River on each side with Brick, in such a manner as the River could never overflow; so that to make the Bridge five times as long as the Distance between these two Banks, must be a needless, not to say a ridiculous, piece of Work.

\* HALF A LEAGUE broad, and very deep besides. P. II. c. 7. Sir *Thomas Herbert*, who had been in these Parts, and it is probable had taken a View of the River hereabouts, who, tho' he falls into a great many Mistakes in Matters of Learning, yet he must be allowed to be a competent Judge in those things that are the Objects of Sense, assures us, that the *Euphrates* at antient *Babylon* was well nigh double the Breadth of the *Thames* at *London*. That *Xenophon* was not mistaken in the Breadth of the River at *Thapsacus*, and that there is no Error crept into the Text, we may be convinced from what

It must here be observed, that when Travellers mention the Breadth of Rivers, we must not take what they say to be strictly true: they have no Instruments with them to determine Distances; and had they Instruments, the Generality wou'd not know how to make use of them. What *Rauwolf* says in this Place, must be understood as spoken very much at large; half a League being 13 *Stadia*. *Diodorus Siculus*, we have seen, makes the Bridge over it 5 *Stadia*: Now, as a Bridge is by much more easily measured than a River, and as *Xenophon* makes it four *Stadia* at *Thapsacus*, we may suppose that five *Stadia*, a little more than half an *English* Mile, was the Breadth of the *Euphrates* at *Babylon*.

For instance, he tells us that *Ninus enlarged Nineveh the great upon Tigris, formerly called Nyfis and Rauhaboth, and since Mosul, being indeed rather the Ruins of Seleucia*. Pag. 226. He also informs us, from *Xenophon*, that *Cyrus had 125 Millions of Pounds when he marched against his Brother Artaxerxes*. Pag. 249.

what our ingenious Countryman *Maundrel* says on the same Subject, where he assures us, <sup>10</sup> that a long Bullet-Gun could not shoot a Ball over the *Euphrates* at *Jerabolus*: This I take to be the <sup>11</sup> ancient *Zeugma*

<sup>10</sup> Journey from *Aleppo* to *Beer*, April 20. where he tells us, that *the River is as broad as the Thames at London*; and that a long Bullet-Gun cou'd not shoot a Ball over it, but it dropt into the Water. By this it appears that it is a great deal broader than the *Thames* at *London*; for a common Fowling-Piece will carry a Ball without any Elevation, more than twice the Breadth of the *Thames* at *Blackwall*. At *London Bridge* the *Thames* is 900 Feet over; now supposing it 100 Feet more at *Blackwall*, will make it 1000, that doubled is 2000, almost  $3\frac{1}{2}$  Stadia; so that we may conclude this at least to be the Breadth of the *Euphrates* at *Jerabolus*. *Pliny* says, *Book V. cap. 24.* *Arabiam inde læva, Oreon dictam regionem, trischæna mensura, dextraque Commagenem, determinat (nempe Euphrates.) P. Hardouin* observes upon the Place, *Am-nem ibi latum esse ait schænis tribus.* Now *Pliny* assures us, *Book XII. cap. 14.* the *Schænus* consists of 40 Stadia, or 5 Roman Miles: So that, according to *Hardouin*, the *Euphrates* must be 14 English Miles broad at *Bir*. However, as the Sentence will admit another Construction, we have no Occasion to father such an Absurdity upon *Pliny*. I do not know whether it is worth while to take Notice of a small Mistake or two in *Delisle's* Maps. He makes the *Euphrates* 500 Feet broad; and the Pyramid near *Larissa* upon the *Tigris* 200 Paces high, and 100 Paces square. Whereas *Xenophon* makes the River 4 Stadia broad, i. e. 500 Paces, or 2500 Feet; and the Pyramid 100 Feet square, and 200 high.

<sup>11</sup> I conclude so from the many beautiful Ruins found there, and especially from the Remains of a Bridge said to be thereabouts. *Vide Maundrel ubi supra.*

*Zeugma*, above 2000 *Stadia*, or 230 Miles higher up the River than *Thapsacus*. So that if it is so broad at *Jerabolus*, we cannot think four *Stadia* (not quite half a Mile) anything extraordinary for its Breadth at *Thapsacus*.

As to the Situation of *Babylon*, I confess, I can find nothing to determine it with any Exactness. Tho' Astronomical Observations were made there constantly for several Centuries, yet less remains (if less can remain) of these, than of that once so famous City. Mr. *Bedford*<sup>12</sup> has reckon'd up a great variety of Opinions concerning the Situation of this Place, and at last himself adheres to one of the worst. He quotes three of the principal *Arabians*, who, it is highly probable, had every one of them been upon the Spot, and made some sort of Observation to determine the Latitude: For as they differ among themselves, they cou'd not copy from any that went before, nor from one another; and as the Difference is but very small, it might be owing to the Inaccuracy of their Instruments. But he chooses to forsake these, and follow

<sup>12</sup> Scripture Chronology, *Book I. cap. 1.*

follow *Bochart*, who places it <sup>13</sup> almost a whole Degree further to the North. As to the Longitude, he, again from *Bochart*, makes it  $77^{\circ}.46'$ . which is a great deal too much : For as the Longitude of *Scanderûn* has been determined <sup>14</sup> to be  $55^{\circ}.25'$ . so upon the foregoing Supposition, the Meridian Distance between *Babylon* and *Scanderûn* must be  $22^{\circ}.21'$ . which upon a little Examination, will be found very much to exceed the Truth. For Instance; from *Scanderûn* to *Aleppo*, is not 60 Miles; which, considering the winding of Roads and the Difference of Latitude, cannot exceed one Degree. From *Aleppo* to *Thapsacus*, *Xenophon* makes  $45$  *Parasangas*, which upon this Parallel, the Difference of Latitude above one Degree, cannot make above  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Degrees. From *Thapsacus* to *Babylon* was 4800 *Stadia*, following the Course of the *Euphrates* : Now, allowing for the

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<sup>13</sup> The *Arabians* place it  $33^{\circ}.20'$ . *Bochart* in  $34^{\circ}.15'$ .

<sup>14</sup> The *French* place *Paris* in  $20^{\circ}$ . Long. and therefore Mr. *Delisle* makes the Longitude of *Alexandretta* to be but  $54^{\circ}.15'$ . However, as we reckon *London*  $19^{\circ}$ . East from *Ferro*, and *Paris*  $2^{\circ}.25'$ . from *London*; and as Mr. *Chazelles* found the Meridian Distance between *Paris* and *Scanderûn* to be  $2^{\text{h}}.16'$ . i. e.  $34^{\circ}$ . so the true Longitude of *Scanderûn* is  $55^{\circ}.25'$ .



Difference of Latitude, and Bending of the River, we will suppose <sup>15</sup> *Babylon* more to the East by 300 Geographical Miles, (and this, I am persuaded, will be thought too much) which being reduced, will be found to be 6 Degrees. So that the Meridian Distance between *Scanderûn* and *Babylon*, cannot upon any reasonable Calculation be supposed more than <sup>16</sup>  $9\frac{1}{2}$  Degrees, which added to the Longitude of *Scanderûn*, makes  $64^{\circ}.55'$ . the Longitude of *Babylon*. *Bochart* therefore has placed this

<sup>15</sup> This way of reckoning is in some measure confirmed by *Josephus*, *Antiq.* VIII. c. 6. where he says, that *Thadomira* (that is *Palmyra*) was one Day's Journey from the *Euphrates*, and six from *Great Babylon*: Here, by Day's Journey, is meant the Horseman's Journey, or 60 Miles: So that from the *Euphrates* over-against *Palmyra* to *Babylon* is 300 Miles: But *Thapsacus* stands somewhat more to the West than this part of the *Euphrates*; that is, the Course of the River is S. and by E. and S. S. E. so that 300 Geographical Miles must be pretty near the true Meridian Distance between *Thapsacus* and *Babylon*. *Pliny* indeed affirms, *Book V. cap. 25.* that from *Palmyra* to *Selucia* upon the *Tigris* is 337 Miles; but as other Copies say 537, I must leave it to the Decision of the Critics.

<sup>16</sup> Mr. *Delisle* makes the Distance between *Babylon* and *Scanderûn*, to be pretty near equal to that between *Scanderûn* and *Smyrna*. Now the Meridian Distance of the two latter of these Places is by Observation found to be 9 Degrees: So, as the Difference of Latitude is not material, upon this Computation the Difference of Long. between *Scanderûn* and *Babylon* is 9 Degrees.

this City no less than 13 Degrees too far to the East. As for the *Arabians*, *Eachard*, &c. they followed *Ptolemy*, and as he had for the most part, nothing but Imagination to determine the Longitude of Places by, it is not to be wonder'd at, if he generally does it in a manner very wide from the Truth.

AFTER the 17 Battle, and the Death of *Cyrus*, the *Greeks*, tho' victorious, had no hope left, but that of getting back again to their own Country: But to effect this

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17 *Plutarch* (in *Ariax.*) speaking of the Loss of this Battle, lays all the Blame upon *Clearchus*, for not, according to *Cyrus's* Order, bringing his *Greeks* to front the King's Centre: But I think the Conduct of *Clearchus* may be easily vindicated. This General very well knew, from the Mock-Encounter at *Tyriæum*, what was to be expected from the rest of *Cyrus's* Forces, viz. that they would run away at the first Onset, and himself with his handful of *Greeks* be left alone to encounter with the King's Army. A handful they might be called with the greatest Propriety, being 13000 against 1200000, (for so many the King's Army was supposed to consist of.) *Clearchus* therefore kept close to the River, with a Design not to be surrounded by such prodigious Numbers; which, had it happen'd at the beginning of the Battle, before the *Greeks* had tried the *Persian* Metal, might have dishearten'd his Men, and lost the Day. Had *Cyrus* relied upon *Clearchus's* Promise, (viz. that all should go well) and waited patiently for the Event, all had gone well, he had won the Day, and been King of *Persia*.

was a matter of considerable Difficulty. To return by the same way they came, was impossible, because all their Provisions were spent, and they were to march thro' the Deserts of *Arabia*: And they wanted Guides to shew 'em another Road. At last they entered into a Truce with the King, one of the Conditions of which was, that he should conduct them safe to their own Country. The Officers sent by the King to perform this, led them thro' the Middle of *Babylonia*, a Country intersected with Canals and Ditches, kept full of Water, in order to convince the *Greeks* that all Endeavours to arrive at *Babylon* must be in vain, if the People of the Country were their Enemies. I am far from being of Mr. *Spelman's* Opinion, where he supposes the Distance mention'd by *Xenophon* between the Field of Battle and *Babylon*, 3060 Stadia, to be a Mistake of the Transcriber. The *Persians*, without doubt, persuaded them the Distance was so great, and led them thro' the Country with a Design to convince 'em, that whoever should attempt to march thither, must be entirely discouraged and baffled by the many Difficulties he would meet with. They were no strangers, it is likely, to  
*Daniel's*

*Daniel's* Prophecies, which were wrote in their Capital and in their Language; and which plainly foretold that their Empire should be overturn'd by the *Greeks*. This they might endeavour to avert by such Arts as I have mention'd; with a Design that if any of these Soldiers shou'd get back again to *Greece*, (which however they did all in their Power to obstruct) they shou'd spread such an Account among their Countrymen of the Difficulties they had met with, as should for the future put a stop to all Undertakings of this kind. There can no other Reason, I believe, be assign'd for conducting them to *Sitace*: For it was entirely out of their Way, and they must pass <sup>18</sup> by *Babylon* to arrive at it. This Town stood near the *Tigris*, and Part of the Province of *Babylon* was from it called *Sitacene*. *Strabo* says, the Road from *Babylon* to *Susa* lay thro' it. Now, as *Susa* was near S. E. from *Babylon*, *Sitace* must lie beyond *Babylon* from hence, at the Distance of 500 Stadia, as the same Author informs us. *Xenophon* confirms this, by

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<sup>18</sup> I suppose here, that they were conducted to the Left towards the *Tigris*, and not suffer'd to pass within sight of *Babylon*.

making it 20 *Parasangas*, or 600 *Stadia* from *Sitace* to *Opis*, a large trading Town upon the *Tigris* about the Place where *Bagdat* now stands.

FROM *Opis* the Army marched up the *Tigris*, till they arrived at the Mountains of the *Carduchians*, at present called the *Curdes*, the same untractable People, and shew the same Regard to Travellers they did to these *Greck* Wanderers. They strol'd about upon the Mountains from hence as far as the Springs of the *Euphrates*, and plunder every one they meet with, that is weaker than themselves. They will be under no sort of Government, and pay as little Respect to the *Turk*, who pretends to be their Master, as their Forefathers did to the Kings of *Persia*. In all this Tract, I can find very little for a Geographer to exercise himself upon. If *Rauwolf* had had *Xenophon's Anabasis* along with him, or the Contents of it fresh in his Memory, he might have made several Remarks, which wou'd have given great Light into our Author; for he travelled over the same Ground from *Bagdat* to these Mountains.

It took up the Army seven Days to cross this inhospitable Country, wherein they suffer'd more than from all the great Armies of the *Persian*. At last they came to the *Centrites*, a River which, in those Days, served as a Boundary between the *Curdes* and *Armenia*. *Monf. Delisle* has made this River run Eastward, and fall into the <sup>19</sup> Lake of *Van*. I have ventur'd to turn its Course Westward; because I take it to be a Branch of the *Lycus*, which, when it falls into the *Tigris*, is so very considerable a River, that *Rauwolf* <sup>20</sup> says, it is at least a long Mile broad, and must come out of this Country from the East; for had it come from the North, the *Persians*, after the Rout at <sup>21</sup> *Arbela*, wou'd have been under no necessity of running such Risks in attempting to pass it. Besides, we ought to reflect, that in these seven Days the

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Greeks

<sup>19</sup> He does not indeed give it any Name in his Maps of this Expedition, but in his other Maps he makes it the Lake of *Van*.

<sup>20</sup> *Part II. cap. 9.* This must be understood with some Allowance: *Rauwolf* assures us, he was in very great Fear while he forded this River, and therefore might think it four or five times bigger than in reality it is.

<sup>21</sup> This Place is still known by the Name of *Harpel*. *Rauwolf, ubi sup.*

*Greeks* could not have travelled more than 70 Miles, considering the many Obstructions they met with in the Country of the *Carduchians*; and that as the Course of the *Tigris* is in these Parts from the N. W. and the Course of the Army to the North, they could not be 50 Miles from the *Tigris*, at the Place where they crossed the *Centrites*. This River was not a very small one; *Xenophon* makes it 200 Foot broad, and consequently if it runs towards the East, must rise at least 30 Miles toward the West; and then what room can we find for the Rise and Progress of so large a River as the *Lycus*, which must drain the East for a considerable Distance

FROM hence the Army marched over the Plains of *Armenia* to the River *Teleboas*, which Monfr. *Delisle* in his <sup>22</sup> Dissertation and Map, in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences, intirely overlooks, and passes from the <sup>23</sup> Head of the *Tigris*

<sup>22</sup> Entitled, *Determination Geographique de la Situation & de l'Etendue de Pays traversés*; &c. in the Memoirs of the Acad. Royal. An. 1721. p. 56.

<sup>23</sup> Mr. *Delisle* brings *Herodotus* to prove, that there were in these Parts three Rivers of the Name of *Tigris*. This he does in order to shew, that the *Greeks*

*Tigris* to the *Euphrates*, without taking any Notice of, or laying down any River between them : However, in his large Map published in the Year 1723, entitled, *Re-traite de Dix Mille*, he has rectified this Mistake, and laid down the *Teleboas* as an Arm of the most easterly Branch of the *Euphrates*, which Mr. *Delisle* has discovered from *Ptolemy*, to rise 50 Leagues to the Winter East of the Springs above *Ertzrum*, and which he makes the *Greeks* pass just at the Fountain. So that their passing of this Branch of the *Euphrates*, must be more to the Eastward by at least two Degrees than the Meridian of *Ertzrum*: But how little this squares with the Situation of these Countries, a small Degree of Reflection will convince us. We have seen above, that, upon the most favourable Calculation, the Longitude of *Babylon* cannot be more than  $64^{\circ}.55'$ . After the Battle the *Greeks* travelled upon the Banks of the

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*Greeks* did not approach near the Head of the *Tigris* properly so called, viz. that which flows by *Diarbekir*; but supposes it the most easterly Branch. However, he might have saved himself a good deal of Trouble, had he attended to *Xenophon's* Words, who does not say they passed the Head of the *Tigris*, or were near it; but only, that *they were now advanced above it*. Vol. I. p. 268.



*Tigris*, till they came to the *Carduchian* Mountains : Now, as the Course of this River is from the N. W. and W. N. W. so they must diminish the Longitude considerably by this long March, *Delisle's* Map makes it 3 Degrees ; so that they entered the *Carduchians* Country in Longitude  $61^{\circ} 55'$ . But the Royal Academy of Sciences, of which Mr. *Delisle* was Geographer, places *Ertzrum* <sup>1</sup> in  $68^{\circ} 45'$ , so that the Sources of the *Euphrates*, which Mr. *Delisle*, from *Ptolemy*, places 50 Leagues S. E. of *Ertzrum*, must be at least in  $70^{\circ} 45'$  Longitude. Upon this Supposition therefore, the *Greeks* in travelling three Degrees of

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<sup>1</sup> This places *Ertzrum* farther to the East, than any Geographer, I can meet with, will allow : I am surprized that neither Mr. *D'Anville*, nor the *English* Editor of *Du Halde's China* in *Folio*, take any Notice at all of this Circumstance, in determining the Situation of the *Caspian* Sea. The greatest Longitude they are willing to allow to *Astrakhan*, is but  $68^{\circ} 55'$ . very little more than this of *Ertzrum*: Whereas there must be at least four Degrees difference between them. Observations are material Evidences in Geography. The *Acad. Royal* An. 1699. assures us, these Situations were grounded upon Observations. How therefore this Article could slip the Notice of Persons so much interested in the Discovery of it, is to me very surprizing. Not but that I have Reasons (to my self very strong ones) to think that those Places are not situated so far to the East : However, as there is no reasoning against Facts, I desist.

Latitude, for so much Mr. *Delisle* makes it from their entering the *Carduchians* Country to their fording the *Euphrates*, must deviate to the East no less than 9 Degrees; which is quite incredible, especially as *Xenophon* himself tells us; and Mr. *Delisle* repeats his Words, that their Course was North. Again, let us view this Affair in another Light: *Tournefort* informs us, (Vol. II. Let. 6.) that from *Ertzrum* to *Aleppo* is 35 Days Journey; and *Tavernier* (Book II. c. 4.) that from *Bir* to *Mousul* is but 15 Days Journey. Now as *Bir* is in the Road from *Aleppo* to *Ertzrum*, or very near it, and <sup>a</sup> 4 Days Journey from *Aleppo*, so it will be 31 Days Journey from *Bir* to *Ertzrum*. *Bir* is in Lat.  $37^{\circ}.10'$ . *Ertzrum* in  $39^{\circ}.56'.35''$ . and *Mousul* in about  $35^{\circ}.30'$ . So that *Ertzrum* is more to the Northward, with respect to *Bir*, than *Mousul* is to the Southward by  $1^{\circ}.6'.35''$ . for which we must allow 5 Days Journey; therefore *Ertzrum* is more to the East than *Mousul* by 11 Days Journey. But Mr. *Delisle* makes the *Greeks* enter the *Carduchian*

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<sup>a</sup> *Tavernier* says, it is 4 Days Journey for the Horse-Caravan; but then I imagine he must reckon the passing of the River into the Time. *Book 2. cap. 4.*

Mountains a little <sup>3</sup> to the West of *Mouful*; and consequently as they travelled North, must pass the *Euphrates* a great deal to the West of *Ertzrum*. Whereas he has laid down their Rout above 200 Miles to the East of *Ertzrum*. Mr. *Delisle* tells us of one M. *Duval*, formerly Geographer to the King of *France*, who drew a Map of this Expedition, and laid down the Countries as best suited his own Notions, without any Regard to their true Dimensions; by which he doubled the *Persian* Dominions, and made *Asia Minor* to contain 1500 square Leagues instead of 600. How much Mr. *Delisle* has succeeded better, we have in some measure seen above. He quotes P. *Beze*'s Authority for the Latitude of *Trebisond*, but says not one Word about the Longitude: The Reason of this seems to me to be, that if he had, it would have overset his whole Scheme. He places *Babylon* in 62°. Long. the Royal Academy places *Trebisond* in 65°. Long. so that had the Places been laid thus down, and the

<sup>3</sup> This cannot be; because had they advanced up the *Tigris* as far as *Mouful*, they must have passed the *Lycus*, which as it is larger than any River they passed after the *Tigris*, *Xenophon* must have taken Notice of it.

the Rout of the Army made somewhere towards the North, they must have arrived <sup>4</sup> at the *Euxine* a good deal to the West of *Trebisond*. In order to remedy this, he has laid down *Trebisond* in  $57\frac{1}{2}$ , and *Ertzrum* in 58; has made the 10000, from the *Carduchian* Mountains, steer a N. N. E. Course : So that when they came into *Georgia*, they turn'd to their Left, and travelling afterwards near 300 Miles due West, arrived at *Trebisond*. Whereas had the *Black Sea* been <sup>5</sup> extended to its due Length, the *Greeks* must have arrived at the Shore of it where he places *Taochir*, the Place where he makes 'em turn to the Left.

I think I may venture to say, that Mr. *Delisle* is equally unhappy in his Guesses, with

<sup>4</sup> Especially if we allow, as above, 3 Degrees for their westing on the Banks of the *Tigris*. There is in *Xenophon* one material Article not taken Notice of by Mr. *Delisle*, and that is, that where they crossed the River *Teleboas*, the Country was called the *Western Armenia* : Which Name wou'd but ill suit with the Country 200 Miles East of *Ertzrum*.

<sup>5</sup> *Arrian*, who measured the *Euxine*, makes it from the Mouth of the *Thracian Bosphorus* to *Trebisond* 7035 *Stadia* ; that is, about 805 Miles *English*. *Tournefort* does not always mention the Distances ; but by what he says, we may gather he made it about 800 Miles ; whereas *Tavernier* makes it 970 Miles, and *Gimelli* 900.

with respect to the ancient Measures of the *Greeks*. He compares the Distances of Places, mention'd by *Xenophon*, with their true Distance determined by Astronomical Observations. *Xenophon* makes the Distance between *Ephesus* and the Gates of *Syria* near equal to that between the Gates of *Syria* and *Babylon*. Modern Observers have discovered, that from *Smyrna* (near *Ephesus*) to *Scanderûn* (near the Gates of *Syria*) is pretty near equal to the Distance of *Scanderûn* from *Bagdat* (near ancient *Babylon*.) <sup>6</sup> The same, he tells us, may be said of their Return from *Babylon* to *Trapezus*: But that comparing these Distances together, he concludes, that the Measures of the ancient *Greeks* were much smaller than we suppose them; that a *Stadium* in *Xenophon's* Days was but about half so much as it was in the times of the *Romans*. He supposes, that in ancient Times they made use of a common Pace in the Mensuration of Land, which is no more than <sup>7</sup>  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Feet; whereas

<sup>6</sup> His Meaning is, that upon his Supposition it agrees pretty well with modern Observations; *i. e.* from *Babylon* to *Trebisond* is about half so much as *Xenophon* makes it.

<sup>7</sup> One Step, or common Stride in walking; whereas the Pace was the Return of the same Foot, or two Strides.

whereas afterwards the Pace was double, *i. e.* 5 Feet. He says, what confirms him in this Opinion is, the Quantity of a Degree determined by *Aristotle*, who says in his Book *De Cælo*, that the Circumference of the Earth is 400000 *Stadia*, which being reduced, gives  $1111\frac{1}{3}$  to each Degree. However, upon Examination, we cannot find that *Aristotle* ever determined the Quantity of a Degree, or that it was at all determin'd in his Days. He is in this Book speaking of the Smallness of the Body of the Earth, plainly discoverable from the different Elevations of the Stars at different Places, not far distant from each other; where he says, \* *That all the Mathematicians who have attempted by Reasoning to discover the Earth's Circumference, affirm that it is 400000 Stadia.* All we can gather from hence is, that comparing the different Elevations at several Places together, they made a Guess at the Earth's Periphery. *Strabo* seems to intimate, that *Eratosthe-*  
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\* Καὶ τῶν μαθηματικῶν ὅσοι τὸ μέγεθος ἀναλογίζεσθαι πειρῶνται τῆς περιφερείας, εἰς τετραράχοντα λέγουσιν εἶναι μυριάδας σταδίων. Which cannot be understood that any one had actually measured the Contents of a Degree; but only that they had guessed at the whole by *Computation* or *Reckoning*.

nes was the first who applied celestial Observations to determine the Magnitude of the Earth ; and \* Mr. *Cassini* is positive in this Opinion. However, we will suppose that *Aristotle* did determine the Quantity of a Degree to be  $1111\frac{1}{2}$  of the *Stadia* of his Time, and that *Eratosthenes* discover'd it to contain 700 of his Time, it will then of consequence follow, that between the Days of *Aristotle* and *Eratosthenes*, the Greek Measures were changed in the same Proportion, as  $1111\frac{1}{2}$  bears to 700, which is a Supposition that will hardly be allowed, when we consider, that from the Death of the one to the Birth of the other was little more than <sup>10</sup> 40 Years. Besides, if this Method of Arguing is to take place, there wou'd be no end of altering the Measures of Antiquity. *Xenophon* makes it from *Thapsacus* to the Place of Battle 5910 *Stadia*, which with the 500 mention'd by *Plutarch*, makes the Distance from *Thapsacus* to *Babylon* 6410 *Stadia*.

But

\* Acad. Royal. Anno 1694. *Pliny* calls this Undertaking of *Eratosthenes*, *Improbum ausum* ; but adds, *Verum ita subtili Argumentatione comprehensum, ut pudeat non credere.* Book II. c. 108.

<sup>10</sup> *Aristotle* died in the 114th Olympiad, and *Eratosthenes* was born in the 126th.

But in *Aristotle's* Time, *i. e.* at *Alexander's* Expedition, about 70 Years after *Xenophon* was in this Country, it was found to be 4800 ; so that the Stadium must be increas'd neat one fourth in this space of Time.

It is very unlucky for Mr. *Delisle's* Hypothesis, that the ancient *Greeks* never made use of such a Measure as the *Pace*, or had any such Term, that I can find : All their Measures were by the *Foot*, and by such Compositions of it, as are very well known, such were the *Fathom*, 6 Feet ; *Plethrum*, 100 ; and *Stadium*, 600. This last was their longest Measure, and therefore they always compute large Distances by it. When the *Greek* Foot was first fixt, is, like the beginning of most other things, I believe, quite unknown ; but to be sure, a great many Centuries before the Times we are treating of. And when the Standard-Measure of any Nation is once fixt, and becomes current, it is not only needless, but extremely difficult, afterwards to alter it. Perhaps nothing less than the total Destruction of a People, or an universal Change of Customs can effect this. But suppose, for Argument's sake, we allow that the *Greeks* had such a



Measure as the *Pace*, and that originally this *Pace* contained  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Feet, but afterwards was disused, and the geometrical *Pace*, that of five Feet, took place : yet how cou'd this affect the *Stadium*, which contain'd 600 of such Feet as the *Pace* was composed of ? As the Foot was the Foundation of both, so they cou'd have no Influence the one upon the other. Indeed had the *Stadium* been composed of a determinate Number of *Paces*, as the *Roman Mile* was, Mr. *Delisle's* Argument wou'd have had some Shew of Reason in it, some Probability to support it : But to apply two sorts of *Paces*, which consisted of different Numbers of *Feet*, to the *Stadium* which consisted of a determinate Number of *Feet* of the same Length, is such an Impropriety, as I am surprized so sagacious a Person, as Mr. *Delisle* most assuredly was, should fall into.

BUT it may be answered, that the Difficulty still remains. If *Xenophon's* Measures are applied to the true Distances, determin'd by Astronomy, they will be found double : For from *Ephesus* to the Gates of *Syria*, is made to be about 8000 Stadia ; whereas its real Distance is not 5000. To

this it may be replied, that great Armies with such Numbers of Carriages as they must always have with them, cannot go the nearest Way; they must observe the Disposition of Mountains and Rivers, and call at Towns a good Distance from the direct Road upon the Account of Provisions. This was undoubtedly the Case of the Army before us, which if join'd to what I said above about their *Persian* Guides, may give a tolerable Account why the Distances are so magnified, in their March from *Ephesus* to *Babylon*. But in their Return the Case is very different: At this time they reckon'd for themselves, and if we take the Distance from *Opis* (near which *Bagdat* now stands) to their passing the *Euphrates* below *Ertzrum*, we shall find, allowing for their Course Westward along the Bank of the *Tigris*, I say we shall find it correspond pretty near with the Astronomical Observations.

WHEREABOUTS they passed the *Euphrates*, I cannot take upon me to say; but we have seen above, that it must be considerably to the West of *Ertzrum*,



considerable, as it was in the Depth of Winter, the Snow lay upon the Ground, and consequently cou'd be supplied with no Water, but from Springs.

FROM the *Euphrates* they proceeded still North for three Days. We are certain that their Course was North, because our Author informs us, that ἀνεμὸς βορρᾶς ἐναντίον ἐπνευ, viz. that *the North Wind blew full in their Faces*, in so fierce a manner, as to *scorch and benumb the Men*. Now had they not thought themselves under a Necessity of travelling North, they wou'd never have chose to face so terrible a Wind as this. They still proceeded one Day farther; we must naturally conclude towards the same Point of the Compass: And then put themselves under the Conduct of the Bailiff of the Village.

AND here we meet with the greatest Difficulty in the whole Book. <sup>12</sup> *Ertzrum* is but five Days Journey from the *Euxine*; and the *Greeks* where they passed the *Euphrates* cou'd not be much farther from it. We have seen they marched to the

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<sup>12</sup> *Tournefort*, Vol. II. Let. 6.

Northward 3 Days 15 Parafangas; and another Day, the Distance not mention'd (suppose 5 Parafangas) which amount to above 60 Miles: So that they must be at this time half-way to the Coast of the *Black Sea*. Infomuch that, had they kept still on in the same Course, they must in 3 or 4 Days more have arrived at *Cerazunt, Trebisond*, or somewhere thereabouts. But, instead of this, we find they made it no less than 45 Days march, and several of these very long ones, before they came to *Trebisond*. This is very surprizing, and the more so, when we consider, that from the Sources of the *Euphrates* to the Banks of the *Caspian*, is not more than 13 Days Journey. So that these Wanderers were enclosed between the *Euxine*, the *Caspian*, the *Euphrates*, and Mount *Caucasus*: And how they cou'd make such Marches for forty-five Days together, in this space, is, I confess, entirely beyond my Comprehension.

WE find after the Battle, when the *Greeks* were without Guides, that they directed themselves<sup>13</sup> by the Sun; and *Xenophon*

<sup>13</sup> Vol. I. pag. 127.

*xophon* in his Speech to the Army, in the fifth Book (*Vol. II. p. 60.*) plainly shews, that they understood their Compass well enough to know the four principal Points. How therefore they cou'd be so prodigiously misled, is very strange. However we must remember, that in After-times when these Parts were better known, *Artavasdes* the King of this Country, abused *Anthony* <sup>14</sup> by misleading him. We must consider also, that when the *Greeks* were in this Country it was the Middle of Winter, my Account makes it *January*, and that these Countries are at this time of the Year extremely subject to Fogs; so that they might not see the Sun for several Days together: And consequently the old Bailiff, like a true Subject of the King of *Persia*, might take such an Opportunity to mislead 'em, in order to distress and destroy them. It is highly probable it was this that made him run away, and leave his Son behind him: <sup>15</sup> For had he done

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his

<sup>14</sup> *B. XI. p. 524.* Where he says, he led him round about more than double the direct Way, ἐποίησε πλείον ἢ διπλασίαν τῆς εὐθείας, διὰ ὄρων, καὶ ἀνοδιῶν, καὶ κυκλοπορείας.

<sup>15</sup> That is, had he conducted them to Towns where

his Duty, it is not at all likely, that he wou'd have left his Son in such Circumstances, He might have some Ambition in him, tho' his Estate was but low; tho he was but the Superiour of a <sup>16</sup> *Troglo-dyte* Village, yet he might hope that the sacrificing of a Son might raise him to the Government of a Province; as we see great Numbers of Garreteers among us, who think themselves qualified to be at least Ministers of State,

AFTER the *Greeks* had lost their Guide, they marched 7 Days 35 Parasangas, and arrived at the *Phasis*. This Mr. *Delisle* strives

where they cou'd get Provisions. But instead of this, he carried them into desolate Countries, where he concluded they must of course be starved; where the first People they could meet with were the *Taochians* and *Chalybians*, who kept all their Provisions in such Fastnesses, as the Bailiff might imagine it was impossible for them to force. And indeed he was not much mistaken in his Aim; for had they not with great Courage, and no small Address, stormed the *Taochian* Mountain, it is more than probable, they had every one perished with Hunger.

<sup>16</sup> The Villages of this Country do retain the same Form to this day: *Gimelli*, *P. I. B.* 3. c. 3. tells us, He was in dispute with himself, whether to call the Houses *Caves* or *Stables*; for they are dug out of the Earth: That the Roofs are upon a Level with the Surface of the Earth; and that the Men and Beasts lodge together in them.

strives to prove is the *Araxes*. But by what is said above, it is quite improbable they cou'd deviate so far to the East. And to suppose they came to the *Araxes*, after they had passed the *Euphrates*, is still more unlikely; because these two Rivers rise out of the same Mountain, about <sup>18</sup> six Miles distant from each other; the *Euphrates* runs West, and the *Araxes* East, and then South-East. Now, as the *Greeks* had passed the *Euphrates*, and travelled Northward four Days, they must have left the *Araxes* so far behind them, that it is very unlikely they could ever come back again to it. I would rather for the present, till this

Coun-

<sup>17</sup> The Main of his Argument consists in this, that *Constantine Porphyrogenetes* says, that the *Phasis* run near *Theodosiopolis*, that it parted his Empire from *Iberia*, and was likewise called *Erax*. Now *Theodosiopolis* stood near the Place where *Ertzrum* now stands; and therefore if the *Colchian Phasis* rises somewhere in this Country, and flows North, it wou'd run as near that City as the *Araxes* could do, and wou'd naturally serve as a Boundary between *Iberia* and the *Greek* Empire. As to the Name, it proves very little, for as *Aras* signifies a Rapid Stream, the *Persians* applied it to a great many Rivers.

<sup>18</sup> *Pliny* Book VI. cap. 9. says, *Araxes eodem monte oritur, quo Euphrates* VI. *Mill. Passuum intervallo*. Which is confirmed in some measure by *Tournefort*, who tells us, Vol. II. L. 7. that the *Araxes* runs by *Affancale*, which is but six Hours from *Ertzrum*.



Country is better discover'd, suppose it to be the noted *Colchian Phasis*. *Strabo* affirms, that this River has its Source in *Armenia*, <sup>12</sup> Φάσις μέγας ποταμὸς ἐξ Ἀρμενίας τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων. *Dionysius* the Geographer says,

Φάσις

Ἀρξάμενος το πρώτου ἀπ ἑρῆς Ἀρμενίου.

So that the Ancients, who knew these Countries much better than we do, gave the *Phasis* a very different Rise to what is assigned it by the Moderns, placing its Source in the Mountains of *Armenia*, probably, by what they say of its long Course, not at a great Distance from the Fountains of the *Euphrates* and *Araxes*, especially as *Dionysius* calls it, *the Armenian Mountain*, out of which the *Euphrates* rises.

THIS will appear still the more probable, if we seriously attend to what *Moses* says in his Description of *Paradise*, *Gen. ii. v. 10*, &c. where he informs us, that a River proceeded out of *Ngeden* to water the Garden; and there נַחֲשֶׁת, in that Place, i. e. in the Garden, it was divided and became into four Heads נַחֲשֶׁת אַרְבָּעָה, *Capita*, as the Latin

<sup>12</sup> B. X. p. 498. and again B. XI. p. 529. he says, Ποταμοὶ δὲ πολλοὶ, μὲν εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γνωριμώτατοι οὗτοι Φάσις μὲν καὶ Λύκος.

*Latin* accurately expresses it : *The Name of the first Phisun, which encompasses the whole Country of* <sup>20</sup> *Khoilh, (for so it is written in the Original, or perhaps Khoilkh,) where there is Gold, and the Gold of that Country is good; there is also the בלח and the Stone שהם. All which particulars, viz. the Name of the River, for Phisun and Phasis are very near the same, the Name of the Country, and the Products of it, do plainly point out the Colchian Phasis, we are now treating of. The Ancients are so full of the Colchian Gold, that it would be endless to quote all they say upon this Subject. The bare mentioning the Argonautic Expedition (whether real or fictitious) will be sufficient to persuade any one that Colchis was formerly noted for the best Gold : What Pliny* <sup>21</sup> *says of it may convince us, that the Character Moses gives of it is just, where he tells us that the Gold of that Country*  
*is*

<sup>20</sup> I can find nothing to convince me, that the *Hebrews* ever used the *ל* as a Consonant. The *ב* pronounced soft, as some *European Nations* do at present, supplied the Place of *V*. Thus תובל קין *Thubal Cain*, is *Vulcan* ; שבע *shebang*, is *seven*, and the like. The *ל* is, I imagine, the *Waw*, the *o* or *u* of the East, and is always used as a Vowel.

<sup>21</sup> *B. xxxiii. c. 3.*

*is good.* As to the ברלח it is supposed by the most learned Writers, both Jews and Christians, to signify *Crystal*, and שרם *Emeralds*; both which the Ancients make *Scythia*, the Country about *Phasis*, famous for. *Solinus* <sup>22</sup> informs us, that *tho' Crystal was the Produce of several Parts of Europe, and some Places in Asia, yet that of Scythia was the most valuable.* And *Pliny* mentions the Emeralds of *Scythia* in such strong Terms, that I must beg leave to transcribe his Words, it not being an easy matter to translate 'em. <sup>23</sup> *Nobilissimi Scythici, ab eâ gente, in qua reperiuntur, appellati: nullis major austeritas, nec minus vitii: & quantum Smaragdi a ceteris gemmis distant, tantum Scythici a ceteris Smaragdis.*

IT may be objected against what I have here said, that it is entirely improbable four Rivers should have the same Source, and that accordingly these four, which I suppose the Rivers of Paradise, *viz.* the

*Phasis,*

<sup>22</sup> C. xv. speaking of *Scythia*, *Istic & Crystallus, quem licet pars major Europæ & particula Asiæ subministrat, pretiosissimum tamen Scythia edidit.*

<sup>23</sup> B. xxxvii. c. 5.

*Phasis*, the *Aras*, the *Tigris*, and the *Phrat*, have their Sources at a considerable Distance from one another. To this I answer, that the Time *Moses* speaks of, was before the Flood, when the Surface of the Earth was very different from what it is at present : For that the universal Deluge wrought prodigious Changes in the outward Parts of this Globe, I think, is manifest from the very ruinous Appearance of Mountains, the unequal Disposition of their Parts, (I mean, the heaviest Bodies mixt with and often placed above the lightest) and Sea-shells found in great Quantities, and surprising Varieties upon some of the highest of them. Should I attempt to explain the Cause and Manner of these Alterations, or to write a *Geographical Dissertation* upon the *Antediluvian* Earth, what Fate could I expect, when so many great Men have handled this Subject with so little success ?

I am sensible the Current of Learned Men is against me, who almost-all agree, that *Paradise* was situated about the Place where *Babylon* afterwards stood ; that the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* meet near that Place,

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and

and afterwards part again : And therefore that the Heads mention'd by *Moses*, are those two Partings, making four Divisions ; the two upper being *Hiddekil* and *Phrat*, the two lower *Phison* and *Gihon*. But with due Submission to those great Names, who have espoused this Opinion, I believe, it is founded upon a <sup>24</sup> Mistake : For that the

*Eu-*

<sup>24</sup> The Original of this Mistake seems to me to come from *Pliny*, who says, that the *Euphrates* is divided ; (*Vid. pag. xx.*) that one Branch falls into the *Tigris* at *Seleucia*, the other runs thro' *Babylon*, and is lost in the Bogs. However, in another Place he informs us, that this Part of the River which run through *Seleucia*, was an artificial Canal. *Book. VI. cap. 28.* he calls it *Fossa*, and tells us who it was that made it. This was known afterwards by the Name of *Naar Malcha*, the *King's River*. *Strabo* tells us, the Land was so rotten, that the Canals, which circulated the Water, were very subject to fill up ; so that *Alexander* caused new ones to be made. At the Junction of one of these with the *Tigris*, *Seleucia* was built : *Trajan* and *Severus* afterwards cleansed this Canal for the Passage of their Fleets to the *Tigris*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* Lib. xxiv. cap. 6. says, *Id (viz. flumen Regium, which he also calls fossile Flumen) antehac Trajanus, posteaque Severus, egesto solo, fodiri in modum Canalis amplissimi Studio curaverat summo, ut aquis illuc ab Euphrate transfusus, naves ad Tigridem commigrarent.* Notwithstanding which, when *Julian* the Apostate came hither, he was forced to cleanse it. *Zosimus* indeed says, (*B. III.*) the *King's River* had Water in it, but not enough to carry the Emperor's Fleet, without being cleansed : Whereas *Amm. Marcell.* positively affirms that it was quite dry. All which plainly proves, that this was not the natural Course of the River. *Rauwolf* and *Herbert* both af-

firm

*Euphrates* and *Tigris* do not meet together, till a great many hundred Miles below *Babylon* : Nay, it is positively affirm'd by the Ancients, that originally they did not meet at all, but had their Channels distinct quite to the Sea ; and that the <sup>1</sup> Inhabitants of the Country by stopping up the *Euphrates*, in order to water their Lands, diverted its Course, and turned it into the *Tigris*. In this manner were the *Rhine* and the *Mease* join'd together by an Earthquake in later Times. *Tavernier*, who himself sail'd down the *Tigris*, makes the present <sup>2</sup> Junction of these two Rivers to be at *Gorno*, at the Distance of 145 Leagues, or 435 Miles from *Bagdat*, only fifteen Leagues from *Balsora*. Indeed *Della Valle* and

firm that these two Rivers meet a little below *Babylon*, but as they took it upon Trust, we must believe *Tavernier*, who was an Eye-witness. Besides, did the Rivers join so near *Bagdat*, why do they complain of selling their Boats for a trifle at *Elago* ? They might carry them to *Bagdat*, and have as good a Market for them, as any is in the East. But the Truth is, the Canals are choaked up, and there is no getting thither in a Boat, but by going above 800 Miles round about.

<sup>1</sup> *Pliny*, B. VI. c. 27. *Inter duorum amnium ostia xxv mill. passuum fuere, aut (ut alii tradunt) vii mill. utroque navigabili : sed longo tempore Euphratem præclusere Orcheni & accolæ agros rigantes ; nec nisi Pasisigri defertur in mare.*

B. II. c. 8.

and the *East-India Pilot* make the River to part again, and fall into the *Persian Gulf* by two Mouths: But then whoever considers the Situation of the Country; that it is near the Sea and marshy, that the River is three or four Miles broad, and that it overflows the adjacent Country every Year, will think it a very improper Place to make a Garden of, for the Entertainment and Delight of Man in his State of Innocence. *Moses* indeed says, that this Garden was in the East from the Place he wrote in, that is, from *Arabia Petrea*: But this will prove nothing at all; because the *Hebrews* took no Notice of the intermediate Points: So that when a Place lay any where towards the East, they said it was situated **מקדם** *in the East*; in the same manner as we say, that *Riga*, *Revel*, and *Petersburgh* are in the East Country. *Job* says, that *Gold cometh out of the North*, meaning, without doubt, the Gold of the *Phasis*: But then we must consider, that *Job* lived a great deal further East, than where *Moses* wrote, bordering upon the *Sabeans* and *Chaldeans*, and consequently would have the *Colchians* near full North.

BUT

BUT to return from this long, and, I am afraid, tedious Digression. The *Greeks*, after they had passed the *Phasis*, wander'd into Countries, of which there are but few Marks at present to know them by. There is indeed a Province of *Georgia* called *Taochir*, which, as it has a plain Resemblance to the *Taochians*, and as the *Greeks* must be in these Parts, it may be presumed to have been formerly inhabited by this People. Who the *Chalybians* were, or where they lived, I can find nothing remaining. What Mr. *Hutchinson* <sup>3</sup> quotes from *Strabo*, that Χαλδαῖοι Χάλυβες τὸ παλαιὸν ὀνομάζοντες is plainly meant of the *Chalybians* in the next Book, who, as Mr. *Hutchinson* himself allows, were very distant both in Country and Manners, from the People the *Greeks* had to deal with in this Place.

AFTER this they came to the River *Harpasus*. I do allow with *Delisle*, that there is a River of this Name in this Country, which *Tournefort* calls <sup>4</sup> *Arpag*, and makes to fall into the *Araxes*: But

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<sup>3</sup> Dissert. p. xiv.

<sup>4</sup> So that Mr. *Hutchinson* had no Occasion to correct *Diodorus*.



how to bring the *Greeks* hither, and where to assign them the long Marches they had before performed, is, I confess, quite above my Sphere. To do any thing tolerable in this particular, we must wait till this Country is perfectly discovered; and whenever there shall be a compleat Map of it exhibited to the World, we may venture to affirm, that then the Learned will be able to lay down the March of this Army with some Accuracy. The next People the *Greeks* met with in their Progress were the *Scythinians*; probably the same with those *Scythians*, whom *Diodorus* places in this Country. From hence they came to a City called *Gymnias*; of which I can meet with nothing, but that the same is call'd *Gymnasia* by *Diodorus*. At this Place they were furnished with a Guide, who was more just to them than the Bailiff had been; for in five<sup>6</sup> Days he conducted them to the top of a Mountain,

from

<sup>5</sup> B. II. c. 43. Τὸ μὲν ἐν πρῶτον (sc. Σύνδαι) παρὰ τὸν Αῤῥάξην ποταμὸν ὀλίγοι κατώκην παντελῶς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀδοξίαν καταφρονέμενοι.

<sup>6</sup> *Diodorus Siculus* says 15 Days: But in this, and several other particulars, he differs so much from *Xenophon*, that I suspect, in drawing up of the Account of this Expedition, he made use of some other Author.

from whence they cou'd plainly discern the Sea. A Sight they had long desired ! In a short Time after this they arrived at *Trebifond*, a Greek City ; and keeping near the Sea-shore, marched, all that were able, to *Cotyora*.

AND here *Xenophon* puts an End to his Journey ; making this the Conclusion of the *Κατάβασις* (*Retreat*), as the Place of Battle was of the *Ἀνάβασις* (*Expedition*.) The Reason of this is, because they afterwards sail'd much the greatest Part of their Way to Greece.

*XENOPHON* himself says, that from the Field of Battle in *Babylonia* to *Cotyora* they made 8 Months : And in the Conclusion he informs us, that the whole Expedition and Retreat took up 15 Months. Now whoever will be at the pains to compute the Marches and Halts from *Sardes* to the Battle, will find them to amount to exactly 6 Months : But as *Xenophon* begins the Expedition from *Ephesus*, we should

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7 I take no Notice of the Places they touch'd at, because Mr. *Spelman's* Notes are as full as can be desired.

reckon the Time from the same Place. Therefore allowing something for their March to, and stay at *Sardes*; their<sup>8</sup> consulting and passing the *Cilician* Mountains; their<sup>9</sup> Stay and Quarrel at *Carmande*; and the<sup>10</sup> Affair of *Orontas*, (where the Soothsayer's ten Days plainly shew the Time not accounted for :) I say, allowing for these, as *Xenophon* has said nothing about their Continuance, we cannot think a Month too long a time for them all : Which will make just 15 Months from their Departure from *Ephesus* to their Arrival at<sup>11</sup> *Cotyora*. Our Author's placing this Account at the End of his Book, has induced all the learned Men, I can meet with, to suppose, that the whole of their Transactions, from their first setting out to their joining of *Thimbron*, took up no more than 15 Months. This has introduced still a worse Mistake, by misplacing the Year of the Expedition in all the Chronological Tables.

<sup>8</sup> Vol. I. p. 24.

<sup>9</sup> Pag. 58, &c.

<sup>10</sup> Pag. 79.

<sup>11</sup> What puts this beyond all Dispute, are the Distances, which are only computed to *Cotyora* : For from *Ephesus* to the Battle are 16050, and from the Battle to *Cotyora* 18600 Stadia, in all 34650, the whole Sum mentioned by *Xenophon* at the End of the Book, without taking any Notice of their Travels after they left *Cotyora*.

*Diodo-*

*Diodorus Siculus* places the Expedition in the last of the 94th *Olympiad*; and *Thimbron's* passing over into *Asia*, to make War upon *Tissaphernes*, in the first of the 95th *Olymp.* and All have followed him, as far as I can perceive, without examining into the Affair. However, it is most certain, that from their Departure under *Cyrus*, to their Junction with *Thimbron*, was very near, if not quite, two full Years: And consequently, that the Year of the Expedition ought to be fix'd in the 3d of the 94th *Olymp.* and this will account for the Chasm or Non-action, which Mr. *Spelman* has<sup>12</sup> discover'd in *Diodorus*, that Year. In order to make out what I advance, I reckon up the Time thus, *viz.*

|                                                          | <i>Months.</i> |
|----------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| From <i>Ephesus</i> to the Battle,                       | 7              |
| From the Battle to <i>Cotyora</i> .                      | 8              |
| From their Arrival at <i>Cotyora</i> , to their          | } 6            |
| Joining <i>Seuthes</i> (upon a moderate<br>Computation,) |                |
| Serve under <i>Seuthes</i> ,                             | 2              |
| From their leaving <i>Seuthes</i> to their join-         | } 2            |
| ing <i>Thimbron</i> , must be near                       |                |
|                                                          | <hr/> 25       |
| d 3                                                      | The            |

<sup>12</sup> Introduction, P. xxxiii.

The two Months, they serv'd under *Sen-thes*, were in the middle of Winter, (suppose *December* and *January*) which is the only Mention of the Season of the Year in the whole Book. From hence we may gather, that the Battle was fought about the latter End of *September*; that they were in Snows of *Armenia* about the Beginning of *January*, came to *Trebisond* towards the End of *February*, and arrived at *Cotyora* about the Beginning of *June*. They set out from hence towards the latter end of *July*, joined *Senthes* at the End of *November*, and were incorporated with the Troops under *Thimbron*, the *March* following, two full Years from their first Departure from *Ephesus*, to serve under *Cyrus*. The *Greeks*, it is well known, began their Year from the <sup>13</sup> Summer Solstice. Therefore, as this Army returned when *Thimbrön* passed over into *Asia*, (as is plain from *Xenophon*) that is, in the Spring of the first of the 95th *Olympiad*; so it is apparent, that *Cyrus* must have mustered his Forces, and departed from *Sardes* in the Spring of the third of the 94th *Olympiad*,

<sup>13</sup> That is, the first Month after the Summer Solstice.

*lympiad*; which was two Years before their Junction with the *Lacedæmonian* General. Archbishop *Usher* plainly saw some difficulty in this particular; for in repeating *Xenophon's* Words, where he tells us, they were eight Months from the Battle to *Cotyora*, this learned Prelate says, *'t ought to be five, as the Course of the History afterwards requires*; meaning, without doubt, that out of the fifteen Months, mentioned by *Xenophon* at the end of the Book, some Time ought to be allowed for their Transactions between their arrival at *Cotyora*, and their joining the *Lacedæmonians*. But, with all due Respect be it spoken, three Months is not sufficient for this by a great deal: For Instance, they stay'd at *Cotyora* forty-five Days, and served under *Seuthes* two Months, besides a very considerable Train of Actions both before and after; all of which together cou'd not, according to my Computation, take up much less than ten Months. But further, if we collect the Days from the Field of Battle to their Arrival at *Cotyora*, as they lie scatter'd in *Xenophon*, we shall find

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more

<sup>14</sup> *Cotyora venerant octo (vel quinque potius, ut Serius Historiæ postulare videtur) post pugnam mensibus.*

more than seven Months accounted for, besides two or three Places where Time is not strictly mention'd : Which plainly shews that no Error can be crept into the Text ; but that eight Months was the Time they spent in this March.

IT is true indeed, that the Battle was fought in the 4th of the 94th *Olympiad*; but then it was in the beginning of it : Whereas *Diodorus* affirms, that *Cyrus*<sup>15</sup> hired his Mercenaries, sent to the *Lacedæmonians* for Assistance, mustered his Army at *Sardes*, and began his March this same Year ;(<sup>14</sup> supposing, without doubt, that they spent but 15 Months in the whole of their Travels) all which, as I think I have proved beyond all Contradiction, ought to be placed in the third of the 94th *Olympiad*, *Micion* being *Archon* of *Athens*.

AT *Cotyora* they took Shipping, and sail'd to *Harmene*, a Port near *Sinope* :

And

<sup>15</sup> *Usher* copies *Diodorus* in all these Particulars ; and yet afterwards says, *commissa pugna est sub initium Anni 4 Olympiadis xciv.*

<sup>16</sup> He supposes that *Cyrus*, having spent the Summer and Winter in preparing for the Expedition, set out in the Spring of 4th of the 94th *Olympiad*, and that the *Greeks* returned late in the Spring following.

And from thence to *Heraclea*. In this second Trip *Xenophon* informs us, that they saw the Mouths of several Rivers: first, that of the *Thermodon*; then of the *Halys*; and after this, that of the *Parthenius*: Whereas it is most certain that the *Thermodon* and *Halys* are a great way on the other side of *Sinope*, and consequently *Xenophon* must have seen the Mouths of them in the former Run, that is, from *Cotyora* to *Harmene*. This will render what I hinted at above very probable, *viz.* that our Author kept no regular Journal of this Expedition; for if he had, where cou'd he have more Leisure to write than on Board, where he cou'd have nothing else to do, there being Pilots to steer the Course, and Sailors to manage the Ships?

It is evident from the Digression in the fifth Book <sup>17</sup> about *Diana's* Offering, that our Author did not write <sup>18</sup> this History

<sup>17</sup> Vol. II. p. 20.

<sup>18</sup> This Work came out under the Name of *Themistogenes* of *Syracuse*; and *Xenophon* himself refers to it under this Title in the 2d Book of his History: But the World was soon convinced who was the true Author; for there are not only several Passages in it which *Xenophon* himself alone could know; but it is likewise penned with so much Harmony and Sweetness



story in its present Form, till several Years after his Return from the Expedition : for he there makes mention of his Sons going a Hunting ; whereas it is pretty plain that at the Time we are speaking of, <sup>19</sup> he had no Children. He staid in *Asia* with the Troops till *Agésilas* was recalled, and after the Battle of *Charonea* he retired to *Scilus*. This Battle was fought in the 2d of the 96th *Olympiad*, near five Years after his Return from the Expedition. In this Interval he married and had two Sons ; and when these were grown up, which we must suppose would take up about twenty Years, <sup>20</sup> he wrote this Account of the Transactions of

nets as cou'd flow from no other, than the *Attic Bee*. Indeed it is the Opinion of some learned Men, that *Themistogenes* did write an Account of the Expedition, which *Xenophon* refers to, as above : But that he afterwards wrote one himself ; which is the Work we have now extant. However, we shall find this very unlikely when we reflect that our *Agésilas* was wrote while *Xenophon* lived in ease and peace at *Scilus*, and his Sons were alive : whereas his *Greek History* was not drawn up till after the Battle of *Mantineia* ; when *Scilus* was destroyed, *Xenophon* removed to *Corinth*, and one of his Sons slain : So that as *Scilus* was destroyed some time before this Battle, so the Expedition must be wrote before the *Greek History*.

<sup>19</sup> Vol. II. p. 219.

<sup>20</sup> It is probable he wrote this History to vindicate his Honour, and published it under another Name to avoid the Imputation of Vanity. There were other Ac-

of the *Greeks* in Upper *Asia*. So that if some trivial Matters have slip't his Memory, it is not at all to be wonder'd at, since it was penned so many Years after the Affairs it mentions were transacted.

AND here I cannot forbear to express some Doubt concerning our Author's Age at the Time we are treating of. *Diogenes Laertius* affirms, that he died in the 1st of the 105th Olympiad; and *Lucian*, that he lived to be upwards of 90 Years of Age. So that when he accompanied *Cyrus* into *Asia*, he must be at least 51 : which to me seems quite irreconcilable with the Account he gives us of himself. When their Commanders were all destroy'd, the *Greeks* were under great Anxiety, as being in the Heart of the *Persian* Empire, in the Neighbourhood

Accounts, it is likely, of this Expedition, which either blamed his Conduct, or were silent as to his Merit : What confirms me in this Opinion, is the Relation which *Diodorus Siculus* gives of the same Transactions ; which not only varies from *Xenophon* in abundance of Particulars, but never mentions his Name, where he most deserves it, viz. in conducting the most memorable Retreat, that ever was performed in any Period of Time. This he attributes to *Cleixiphus*, by saying that *he was chosen General*. B. xiv. c. 5. The only time I can find he mentions *Xenophon's* Name, is his warring against the *Thracians*. B. xiv. c. 6.

hood of a great Army, and all their best Officers murder'd. The Army was so dispirited, that no one seem'd to take any Care for its Preservation. *Xenophon* revolving these things in his Mind, says to himself, <sup>21</sup> *Do I stay for the Arrival of a General from Greece to take the Command upon him? Or do I wait for Tears to accomplish myself? But I shall in vain hope to grow older, if I this Day surrender myself up to the Enemy.* He therefore immediately calls up the Captains, who had served under his Friend *Proxenus*, and proposes the Election of Officers in the Room of those that were put to Death; and concludes his Speech with saying, that if they shou'd choose him for their Commander, *he would not excuse himself by reason of his Age.* These two Passages compared with *Phalinus* calling him *BOY*<sup>22</sup> in the second Book, and his taking Notice of himself frequently as the youngest Officer, do  
al.

<sup>21</sup> Εγὼ οὐ τὸν ἐκ ποίᾳς πάλεως στρατηγὸν προσδοκῶ ταῦτα πράξειν; ποίαν δ' ἡλικίαν ἐμαυτῷ ἐλθεῖν ἀναμένω; ὃ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι πρεσβύτερος εἰσομαι, εἰὰν τήμερον προδῶ ἐμαυτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις; where it is plain by πρεσβύτερος, that he looked upon himself as too young to command.

<sup>22</sup> Vol. I. p. 118.

almost prevail upon me to think, that he was not more than 23 or 24 Years of Age; his Beard not fully grown, and therefore he might with some Propriety be called *BOY*. *Proxenus* was but 30 when put to Death, and consequently we must suppose *Xenophon* to be less, when he talks of excusing his Age to the Officers who served under *Proxenus*; else what he said must have been looked upon as a Banter upon the Years of his Friend, and upon the Men who served under such a Boy. It may be answered, that as the *Athenians* never pressed Men into their Armies, who were above the Age of 40, so *Xenophon* might say he would not refuse the Command by pleading this Custom: But this will be found to square but very indifferently with all the other Particulars; for had he been upwards of 50, he had been older than *Clearchus*,<sup>22</sup> whom all the rest submitted to of course, and consequently can never be supposed to be the youngest Commander, when new ones

were

<sup>22</sup> *Vol. I. p. 123.* As the oldest Officer, the rest being without Experience: If we may guess at the rest by the Ages of those mention'd, they must all be young Men. *Proxenus* was but 30, *Agias* and *Socrates* about 40, when put to Death.

were chosen. Besides, it is not credible, that a Man wou'd go Volunteer in such an Expedition as this, that is, to march 1200 Miles into an Enemy's Country, and then, when a Command was offered him, talk of refusing it upon the Account of his advanced Age. And tho' the *Athenians* did exempt Men from forced Service at the Age of 40; yet this was only with respect to the common Soldiers: Their Generals were not thought the worse for being above that Age. I think I may leave it to all the World to judge, whether it wou'd not be ridiculous in any General to talk of resigning upon Account of his Age at 51; especially when he was affirming upon every Occasion, that he was one of the youngest Officers in the Army.

I cannot take my Leave without pointing out a very considerable Error in *Arbutnot's* Tables, which has misled Mr. *Spelman* in reducing the *Greek* to the *English* Measures at the End of the Book; for who could have any Suspicion of the Correctness of a Work, which, it is supposed, was overlooked by some of the greatest Genius's in *Europe*? These Tables make the *Greek*

Foot somewhat larger than the *English* Foot : The Pace to contain 5 Foot *English*, and yet the *Stadium* to contain but 100 Paces, 4 Feet,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  Inches ; so that 600 *Greek* Feet are not equal to 505 *English* Feet : And so the  $\mu\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\sigma\upsilon$ , which contains 4800 *Greek* Feet, is made equal to 805 Paces 5 Feet, that is, 4030 *English* Feet. This Error arises from computing by the *Fathom*, instead of the *Pace* ; and if this Mistake be rectified in the next Edition, the Tables will be correct, for any thing I know at present to the contrary. The surest way of reducing the ancient Measures to those of the Moderns, is to keep in Mind the true Proportion of their respective Feet. Thus 960 *Greek* Feet are equal to 967 *English*, and therefore the 34650 *Stadia* contain'd in the whole Expedition and Return of this Army, will, when reduced to our Measures, amount to 3966 Miles. The *Greek* Mile, or  $\mu\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\sigma\upsilon$ , is less than an *English* Mile by 445 *English* Feet. An *English* Mile contains 4914 *Greek* Feet.

R. FORSTER.





T H E  
E X P E D I T I O N  
O F  
C Y R U S.

---

B O O K V.

---

W
E have hitherto related the Ac-  
tions of the *Greeks* in their Ex-  
pedition with *Cyrus*, and in their  
March to the *Euxine* Sea ; how  
they arriv'd at *Trebisond*, a *Greek* City, and  
offer'd the Sacrifices they had vowed to the  
Gods, in Return for their Safety, in the  
Place where they first came into the Ter-  
ritories of their Friends,
BOOK  
V.



BOOK AFTER that they assembled to consider  
 V. of the Remainder of their March, and *Antileon* of *Thuria* first rose up, and spoke in the following manner. “ For my Part,  
 “ Gentlemen ! I am already tir’d with pre-  
 “ paring my Baggage, with walking and  
 “ running, carrying my Arms, and march-  
 “ ing in my Rank, and with mounting the  
 “ Guard and fighting ; and therefore now  
 “ desire, since we are arriv’d at the Sea,  
 “ to <sup>1</sup> sail from hence forward, freed from  
 “ these Labours, and stretch’d out, <sup>2</sup> like  
 “ *Ulysses*,

<sup>1</sup> ΠΛΕΙΝ ΤΟ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ. *Xenophon*, as we shall see afterwards, perpetually uses πεζῇ πορεύεσθαι, to travel by Land, in opposition to πλεῖν, to travel by Sea. There is a very remarkable Passage in the Institution of *Cyrus*, where our Author speaking of the Posts instituted by the first *Cyrus*, says, that these Posts, perform’d by Horses, were the most expeditious Method of travelling by Land, τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πεζῇ πορείων αὐτὴ ταχίστη. But our Author is not singular in this Use of the Word ; *Diodorus Siculus*, speaking of the Expedition of *Artaxerxes* against *Evagoras* King of *Cyprus*, calls his Land-Army, though it consisted of Horse, as well as Foot, πεζὸν στρατεύμα ; his Words are these ; τὸ μὲν γὰρ πεζὸν στρατεύμα μυριάδων ἦν τριάκοντα σὺν ἱππέυσιν. I imagine this Sense of the Word in Greek may have given Occasion to the Phrase *pedibus ire* in the Latin Authors, and to *Cæsar*, in particular, to say *Lucius Cæsar pedibus Adrametum profugerat*.

<sup>2</sup> Ὡς περ Ὀδυσσεύς. This relates to *Ulysses* arriving asleep in *Ithaca*, where the *Phæacian* Sailors left him in that Condition,

Homer Καθ’ ἃς ἐπὶ ψαμάθῳ ἦσαν, διδμημένῳ ὕπνῳ.  
 Odyss. V.

" *Ulysses*, sleeping to arrive in *Greece*." Book  
The Soldiers, hearing this, applauded him,  
and first another, and then all present ex-  
press'd the same Desire. Upon this *Cheirisophus*  
rose up and said, " Gentlemen!  
" *Anaxibius* is my Friend, and, at present,  
" Admiral; if, therefore, you think proper  
" to send me to him, I make no doubt  
" of returning with Gallies and Ships to  
" transport you; and, since you are dis-  
" pos'd to go by Sea, stay here 'till I re-  
" turn, which shall be very suddenly.  
The Soldiers, hearing this, were very well  
satisfied, and decreed that he should set  
sail immediately.

AFTER him *Xenophon* got up and spoke  
to this Effect. " *Cheirisophus* is gone to  
" provide Ships for us, in the mean Time  
" we propose to stay here. I shall there-  
" fore acquaint you with what I think pro-  
" per for us to do during our Stay. In  
" the first place we must supply ourselves  
" with Provisions out of the Enemy's Coun-  
" try, for the Market here is not sufficient

B 2

" to

I mention this Verse to shew that *d'Ablandcourt* had no  
Reason to excuse his leaving out *Dormant*, by saying  
that it is only an Ornament, and not a Point of Hi-  
story.

BOOK “ to supply us, besides, few of us are fur-  
 V. “ nish’d with Money to provide ourselves  
 { “ with what we want, and the Country  
 “ is inhabited by the Enemy. We shall  
 “ therefore expose ourselves to lose many  
 “ of our Men, if, when we go in Search  
 “ of Provisions, we are careless and un-  
 “ guarded : So that I am of Opinion, when  
 “ you go out upon these Expeditions, you  
 “ ought to take 3 Guides, in order to be  
 “ safe,

5 Σὺν προνομαῖς. I suspect there is here some Cor-  
 ruption in the Text ; I don’t know what to make of  
 σὺν προνομαῖς ; *Muretus* has a mind it should be σὺν  
 προδρομοῖς, but that does not satisfy : Both the *Latin*  
*Translators* have said *per Excursiones* ; but how could  
 they get Provisions, otherwise than by Excursions ?  
*D’Ablancourt* has made very good Sense of it, by say-  
 ing *qu’on n’y aille point sans Escorte* ; but I don’t think  
 it can be shewn that προνομή signifies the Escort that  
 attends on Foragers ; I shall therefore venture to make  
 a small Variation in the Text, a Liberty, I believe I  
 have not above twice indulg’d before ; it is this ; I  
 would read σὺν ἡγεμόσι instead of σὺν προνομαῖς ; but,  
 in order to support this Alteration, I find myself oblig’d  
 to put the Reader in Mind of what our Author says  
 immediately before ; he tells the Men they will expose  
 themselves, ἢ ἀμελῶς τε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως πορεύονται ἐπὶ τὰ  
 ἐπιτήδεια ; the first of these, I think, he guards against  
 by advising them to go out for Provisions σὺν ἡγεμόσι.  
 This Reading seems to lead naturally to what he adds,  
 ἄλλως δὲ μὴ πλαναῶσθαι, and further to ἡμᾶς τῶν ἐπι-  
 μεληθῆναι. Those who are acquainted with the ancient  
 Writers, must be sensible that there is so much Method  
 in them, and so close a Connection between their general  
 Asser-

“ safe, and not wander about the Country Book  
 “ without them, and that the Care of V.  
 “ providing them be left to us.” This  
 being resolv’d, he went on. “ Hear also  
 “ what I have farther to say. Some of  
 “ you will, no doubt, desire to go out for  
 “ Plunder. Let all such therefore acquaint  
 “ us with their Intentions, and to what  
 “ Part of the Country they propose to go ;  
 “ that we may know the Number both of  
 “ those who go, and of those who stay,  
 “ and assist the former in any Thing they  
 “ want ; and, if it shall be found necessary

B 3

“ to

Assertions, and the Detail of them, the latter perpetually growing out of the former, that I hope this Alteration will not seem too violent, particularly where some was necessary. But there was another Danger, against which he was to warn them, and that related to private Plunder, for that is the Sense of ἐπὶ λείαν πορεύεσθαι, as it is particularly distinguish’d from publick Expeditions in the sixth Book, where *Xenophon* tells us, the Soldiers made an Order that when the Army staid in the Camp, ἐξῆν ἐπὶ λείαν ἵέναι, the Men were then allowed to go out for private Plunder ; and presently he will give us an Account of the Misfortune of *Cleaxetus*, when the *Greeks* went out upon that Account, ἐπὶ λείαν ἐξήεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ; but, when he comes to the publick Expeditions of the Army to get Provisions, which he calls ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορεύεσθαι, and which were made in Consequence of their Resolution upon what he propos’d, he there tells us that he himself took the Guides appointed by the *Trapezuntians*, and led out one half of the Army, leaving the other to guard the Camp.

BOOK “ to send out Succours, that we may know

V. “ whither to send them : And that, if any  
 “ Person of less Experience undertakes any  
 “ Thing, by endeavouring to know the  
 “ Strength of the Enemy, we may be able  
 “ to advise him.” This also was resolv’d.  
 “ In the next Place, consider this, says he.  
 “ The Enemy have Leisure to make Repri-  
 “ sals, and may, with Justice, lay Snares  
 “ for us, for we have possess’d ourselves of  
 “ what belongs to them, and they have the  
 “ Advantage of us by being posted upon  
 “ Eminences that command our Camp.  
 “ For which Reason I think we ought to  
 “ place Out-guards round the Camp; and  
 “ if, by turns, we mount the Guard, and  
 “ watch the Motions of the Enemy, we shall  
 “ be the less expos’d to a Surprise. Take  
 “ this also into your Consideration. If we  
 “ were assur’d that *Cheirisophus* would re-  
 “ turn with a sufficient Number of Ships to  
 “ transport us, what I am going to say  
 “ would be unnecessary : But, as That is un-  
 “ certain, I think we ought, at the same  
 “ Time, to endeavour to provide ourselves  
 “ with Ships from hence : For, if we are  
 “ already supplied, when he arrives, we shall  
 “ have a greater Number of Ships to trans-  
 “ port

“ port us ; and, if he brings none, we shall BOOK  
 “ make use of those we have provided. I V.  
 “ observe many Ships sailing along this {  
 “ Coast; these, if we desire the Inhabitants  
 “ of *Trebisond* to supply us with Ships of  
 “ Strength, we may bring to the Shore,  
 “ and, taking off their Rudders, place a  
 “ Guard upon them, ’till we have enow to  
 “ transport us in such a Manner as we pro-  
 “ pose.” This also was resolv’d. “ The  
 “ next Thing I would recommend to your  
 “ Consideration, says he, is, whether it may  
 “ not be reasonable to subsist those belong-  
 “ ing to these Ships, as long as they stay in  
 “ in our Service, out of the publick Stock,  
 “ and pay them their Freight, that they  
 “ may find their Account in serving us.”  
 This was also resolv’d. “ I think, added  
 “ *Xenophon*, that, if by this Means we should  
 “ be disappointed of a sufficient Number of  
 “ Ships, we ought to order the Towns that  
 “ border on the Sea, to repair the Roads,  
 “ which, as we are inform’d, are hardly  
 “ passable : For, they will obey our Orders  
 “ both through Fear, and a Desire to be  
 “ rid of us.”

BOOK UPON this they all cried out, that there  
 V. was no Necessity to repair the Roads. *Xenophon* therefore, seeing their Folly, declin'd putting † any Question relating to That, but prevail'd on the Towns near the Sea to mend their Roads, of their own Accord; telling them, that, if the Roads were good, the *Greeks* would the sooner leave their Country. The Inhabitants of *Trebisond* let

† Επεψήφισε μὲν ἄλλοι. *Leunclevius* mistook this Passage, when he said *nihil sanxit*, which *Hutchinson* has properly explain'd by *nihil eas sententias rogavit*: Thus is ἐπεψήφισα made use of more than once by *Thucydides*, and, in this Sense, he makes *Nicias* use it upon a very important Occasion; the *Athenians*, at the Instigation of *Alcibiades*, resolv'd to send a Fleet of sixty Ships under his Command and that of *Nicias* and *Lamachus*, to assist the *Egestæans* against the *Selinuntians*; or rather to conquer *Sicily*: five Days after this Resolution, there was another Assembly of the People, where every Thing that was necessary towards equipping and manning the Fleet was to be provided. Here *Nicias* did all that was in his Power to divert them from the Expedition, and, after many very solid Arguments to that Purpose, he proposes to them to revoke their former Votes, and leave the *Sicilians* to enjoy what they possess'd, and compose those Differences without their Interposition; after proposing this, he calls upon the President of the Assembly, (if he thought it his Duty to take Care of the Commonwealth, and desir'd to shew himself a good Citizen) to put the Question, and again to take the Opinion of the *Athenians*; καὶ σὺ ὦ πρότασι, ταῦτα (εἴπερ ἡγῇ σοι προσήκειν κηδεσθαί τε τῆς πόλεως, καὶ βάλει γενέσθαι πολίτης ἀγαθὸς) ἐπιψήφισε, καὶ γνώμης προτίθει αὐτῷς Ἀθηναίοις. *D'Abincourt* has said very carelessly, *ne laissa pas d'y donner ordre*.

let them have a Galley with fifty Oars, of Book  
which they gave the Command to *Dexippus*, who liv'd in the Neighbourhood of *Sparta*: But he, neglecting to take any  
transport Ships, went away with the Gal-  
ley, and sail'd out of the *Euxine* Sea. How-  
ever, he afterwards receiv'd condign Pu-  
nishment; for, being in *Thrace* in the Ser-  
vice of *Seuthes*, and carrying on some In-  
trigues there, he was slain by *Nicanor* the  
*Lacedæmonian*. The Inhabitants of *Trebi-  
sond* also supplied them with a Galley of  
thirty

<sup>5</sup> Δεξίππου Λακωνικόν περίοικον. *Hutchinson* has ren-  
der'd this *Dexippum Laconem istius loci Accolam*, and  
*d'Abblancourt*, in the same Sense, *qui demouroit en ces quar-  
tiers là*: This I do not take to be the Sense of περίοικον,  
in this Place, which I think *Leunclavius* has render'd  
very properly *Dexippum Laconem à Sparta viciniâ*: The  
ancient Authors in treating of the Affairs of the *Lace-  
dæmonians*, almost always distinguish between the Inha-  
bitants of *Sparta* and those of *Lacedæmon*, that is of the  
Country adjoining to it, the former of whom at the  
Time of the Invasion of *Xerxes* consisted but of eight  
thousand Men, and were looked upon as better Sol-  
diers than the latter; for we find *Demaratus*, in *Hero-  
dotus*, saying to *Xerxes* at the Affair of *Thermopila*,  
ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίᾳ Σπάρτη, πόλις ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισ-  
χιλίων μάλιστα· καὶ ἔτι πάντες ὁμοῖοι εἰσι τοῖσι ἐνθάδε  
μαχέσασμένοισι· ὅτι γε μὴν ἄλλοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τέτοις  
μὲν οὐκ ὁμοῖοι, ἀγαθοὶ δέ. These Inhabitants of the  
Country of *Lacedæmon* are particularly called περίοικοι  
by *Strabo*; these, he tells us, were freed by the Ro-  
mans, when those of *Sparta* were under the Oppression  
of their Tyrants.

*Herodotus*  
in *Poly-  
hymnia*.

*Strabo*,  
8 B.



BOOK thirty Oars, of which *Polycrates* an *Athenian* had the Command, who brought all the transport Ships he seiz'd to the Shore before the Camp, and the *Greeks*, taking out their Cargos, appointed Guards to take Charge of them, and retain'd the Ships for their Passage. In the mean Time the Soldiers went out to get Plunder, some succeeding, and others not. But *Cleanetus*, in attacking a strong Place with his own, and another Company, was slain together with many others.

WHEN the Provisions in the Neighbourhood were so far consum'd, that the Parties could not return the same Day, *Xenophon* taking some of the Inhabitants of *Trebisond* for his Guides, led out one half of the Army against the *Drilians*, leaving the other to guard the Camp: Because the *Colchians*, being driven out of their Houses, were got together in great Numbers and encamp'd upon the Eminences. These Guides did not lead them to those Places, where Provisions were easy to be had, because the Inhabitants were their Friends: But conducted them with great Chearfulness into the Territories of the *Drilians*, by whom they had been ill treated. This is a mountainous Country  
and

and of difficult Access, and the People the most warlike of all those who live near the *Euxine* Sea. BOOK  
V.

As soon as the *Greeks* enter'd their Country, the *Drilians* set Fire to all the Places they thought easy to be taken, and then went away. So that the *Greeks* found nothing but Swine, and Oxen, and some other Cattle that had escap'd the Fire. There was one Place, called their Metropolis, whither they had all betaken themselves. This Place was surrounded with a <sup>6</sup> Valley exceeding deep, and the Access to it was difficult. However, the Targeteers, advancing five or six Stadia before the heavy-arm'd Men, pass'd the Valley, and seeing there a great many Cattle with other Things, attack'd the Place. They were followed by many Pike-men, who had left the Camp to get Provisions; So that the Number of those, who pass'd the Valley, amounted to above two thousand Men. These, finding themselves unable to take the Place by Storm (for it was surrounded with a large Ditch and a Rampart, upon which there were Palisades, and many wooden

<sup>6</sup> Χαράδρα. See the 25<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the third Book.

BOOK wooden Towers). endeavour'd to retreat ;

V. but the Enemy attack'd their Rear, so that,  
 { not being able to make their Retreat (for  
 the Pass, which led from the Place to the  
 Valley, was so narrow they could only  
 go one by one) they sent to *Xenophon*,  
 who was at the Head of the heavy-arm'd  
 Men. The Messenger acquainted him that  
 the Place was furnish'd with great Quantities  
 of Effects ; “ but,” says he, it is so strong,  
 “ we cannot make ourselves Masters of it :  
 “ Neither is it easy for us to retreat ; for  
 “ the Enemy, sallying from the Place, at-  
 “ tacks our Rear, and the Recess is diffi-  
 “ cult.”

*XENOPHON*, hearing this, advanc'd  
 to the Brink of the Valley, and order'd the  
 heavy-arm'd Men to stand to their Arms :  
 Then, passing over with the Captains, he  
 consider'd whether it were better to bring  
 off those who had already pass'd, or to send  
 for the heavy-arm'd Men to come over also,  
 in Expectation of taking the Place. He  
 found the first could not be brought off  
 without considerable Loss, and the Captains  
 were also of Opinion that the Place might  
 be taken. So *Xenophon* consented, rely-  
 ing

ing upon the Victims; for the Priests had foretold there would be an Action, and that their <sup>7</sup> Excursion would be attended with Success. He sent therefore the Captains to bring over the heavy-arm'd Men, and himself staid there, and drew off the Targeteers without suffering any of them to skirmish. As soon as the heavy-arm'd Men came up, he order'd each of the Captains to draw up their several Companies in such a Manner as they thought most advantageous. He did this, because those Captains, who were in a perpetual Emulation of Gallantry, stood near to one another. While these Orders were putting in Execution, he commanded all the Targeteers to advance with their Fingers <sup>8</sup> in the Slings of their Darts, which, when the Signal was given, they were to lance, and the Archers with their Arrows on the String, which, upon a Signal also, they were to discharge; at the same Time he order'd the light-arm'd Men to

BOOK  
V.

<sup>7</sup> Τέλος τῆς ἐξόδου. *Hutchinson* understands ἐξόδου in this Place to relate to the Retreat of the *Greeks* from the Place, where they seem to have engag'd themselves rashly; I have rather chosen to explain it of their *Excursion* in Quest of Provisions; which Sense I find *Leunclavius* has followed.

<sup>8</sup> Διηραλισμένους ἰέναι. See the 22<sup>d</sup> Annotation on the fourth Book.

BOOK have their Pouches full of Stones ; and appointed proper Persons to see these Orders executed. When every Thing was ready, and the Captains and Lieutenants, and the Men, who valued themselves no less than their Leaders, stood all in their Ranks, and viewed one another, (for by Reason of the Ground the Army made a fine Appearance) they sung the Pæan, and the Trumpet sounded, then the Army shouted, the heavy-arm'd Men ran on, and Javelins, Arrows, leaden Balls, and Stones thrown by Hand flew among the Enemy ; some of the Men even throwing Fire at them. The great Quantity of these missile Weapons forc'd them both from the Palisades, and the Towers ; so that *Agasias* of *Stymphalus*, and *Philoxenus* of *Pelena*, laying down their Arms, mounted the Rampart in their Vests only ; when some, being drawn up by their Companions, and others, getting up by themselves, the Place was taken, as they imagined. Upon this, the Targeteers and light-arm'd Men, rushing in, plunder'd every Thing they could find, while *Xenophon*, standing at the Gates, kept as many of the heavy-arm'd Men as he could, without : Because other Bodies of the Enemy appear'd upon some Eminences  
strongly

strongly fortified. Not long after, there was a Cry heard within, and the Men came flying, some with what they had got, and others, possibly, wounded. Upon this there was great crouding about the Gates. Those who got through, being ask'd what the Matter was, said there was a Fort within, from which the Enemy sallied, and wounded our Men who were in the Place.

BOOK  
V.

*XENOPHON*, hearing this, order'd *Tolmides* the Cryer to publish, that all, who desir'd to partake of the Plunder, should go in ; many therefore prepar'd themselves to enter, and, rushing in, drove back those who were endeavouring to get out, and shut up the Enemy again within the Fort. The *Greeks* plunder'd and carried off every Thing they found without it ; while the heavy-arm'd Men stood to their Arms, some round the Palisades, and others upon the Road that led to the Fort. Then *Xenophon*, and the Captains consider'd whether it were possible to take it, for, in that Case, they secured their Retreat, which, otherwise, would be exceeding difficult : But, upon Consideration, the Fort was found to be altogether impregnable. Upon this they prepared for their Retreat,

and

BOOK and each of the Men pulled up the Pall-  
 V. fades that were next to him; then the  
 { useless People, together with the greatest  
 Part of the heavy-arm'd Men, were sent  
 out to get Plunder; but the Captains re-  
 tain'd those, in whom each of them con-  
 fided.

As soon as they began their Retreat, the  
 Enemy sallied out upon them, in great Num-  
 bers, arm'd with Bucklers, Spears, Greaves  
 and *Paphlagonian* Helmets; while others  
 got upon the Houses on each Side of the  
 Street that led to the Fort; so that it was  
 not safe to pursue them to the Gates of it;  
 for they threw great Pieces of Timber from  
 above, which made it dangerous both to  
 stay, and to retire: And the Night, coming  
 on, increas'd the Terror. While they were  
 engag'd with the Enemy under this Per-  
 plexity, some God administred to them a  
 Means of Safety; for one of the Houses  
 on the right Hand took Fire on a sudden:  
 Who set Fire to it, is not known: But, as  
 soon as this House fell in, the Enemy quit-  
 ted all those on the right, and *Xenophon*,  
 being taught this Expedient by Fortune,  
 order'd all the Houses on the left to be set

on Fire. These, being built of Wood, were soon in a Flame, upon which the Enemy quit-  
ted them also. There only now remain'd those in the Front to disturb them, it being evident they designed to attack them in their Retreat and Descent from the Fort. Upon this, *Xenophon* order'd all who were out of the Reach of the missive Weapons, to bring Wood, and lay it in the Midway between them and the Enemy. When they had brought enough, they set Fire to it; setting Fire at the same Time to the Houses that were next the Rampart in order to employ the Enemy. Thus, by interposing Fire between themselves and the *Barbarians*, they, with Difficulty, made good their Retreat; the City with all the Houses, Towers, Palisades and every Thing else but the Fort was reduc'd to Ashes.

THE next Day the *Greeks* march'd away with the Provisions they had taken; but, apprehending some Danger in the Descent to *Trebisond* (for it was a steep and narrow Defile) they plac'd a false Ambuscade. A certain *Myrsian* by Birth as well as Name, taking four or five *Cretans* with him, stopp'd in a Thicket, affecting an endeavour to conceal



BOOK himself from the Enemy, while the flashing

V. of their brazen Bucklers discover'd them  
here and there. The Enemy therefore, seeing this, were afraid of it, as of a real Ambuscade: In the mean Time the Army descended. As soon as the *Myfian* judg'd they were advanc'd far enough, he gave the Signal to his Companions to fly in all Haste, and he himself, leaving the Thicker, fled, and they with him. The *Cretans* (expecting to be over-taken) left the Road, and, rolling down into the Valleys, got safe to a Wood. But the *Myfian*, keeping the Road, called out for Help, when some ran to his Assistance, and brought him off wounded. These, after they had rescued him, retreated slowly, though expos'd to the Enemy's missive Weapons, while some of the *Cretans* discharged their Arrows in Return. Thus they all arriv'd at the Camp in Safety.

WHEN neither *Cheirisophus* return'd, nor the Ships, they had provided, were sufficient to transport them, and no more Provisions were to be had, they determin'd to leave the Country. To this End they put on board all their Sick, and those above forty Years of Age,

Age, together with the Women and Children, and all their Baggage that was not absolutely necessary; and appointed *Phile-* Book  
V.  
*sus* and *Sophænetus*, the Oldest of the Generals, to go on board, and take Care of them. The rest travell'd by Land, the Roads being mended; and, the third Day, they arriv'd at *Cerazunt* <sup>9</sup>, a Greek City situated in the Country of the *Colchians* near the Sea, and a Colony of the *Sinopians*. Here they staid ten Days, during which, the Soldiers were reviewed in their Arms, and an Account taken of their Number, which amounted to eight thousand six hundred. These were all that were sav'd out of about ten thousand: The rest were destroyed by the Enemy and by the Snow, and some by Sickness. Here each Man receiv'd his Share of the Money that had been rais'd by the Sale of the Captives, the tenth Part of which they

C 2

confe-

<sup>9</sup> Εἰς Κερασούντα. *Cerazunt* was the Place, from Ammianus whence *Lucullus*, in his Return from his Expedition against *Mithridates*, brought Cherry-Trees into Italy, <sup>Marcellinus.</sup> in the Year of Rome 680; one hundred and twenty <sup>Plin.N.H.</sup> Years after that they were carried into *Britain*; they <sup>15 B. c. 25.</sup> seem to have had their Name from this City, or the <sup>Tourne-</sup> City from them. *Tournefort* tells us, that he found <sup>fort 17</sup> all the Hills, in the Neighbourhood of it, cover'd with those Trees. *Cerazunt* was afterwards called *Pharnaceia*, though *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny* make them different Towns. <sup>Letter.</sup> <sup>Arrian</sup> <sup>Periplus of</sup> <sup>the Euxine</sup> <sup>Sea.</sup>

BOOK consecrated to *Apollo* and to *Diana* of *Ephesus*: of this each of the Generals receiv'd  
 V. a Part to be appropriated by them to that  
 Service: *Neon* the *Asinian* receiving That  
 which was design'd for *Cheirisophus*.

*XENOPHON* therefore, having caus'd an Offering to be made for *Apollo*, consecrated it in the Treasury of the *Athenians* at *Delphos*, inscribing it with his own Name and that of *Proxenus*, who was slain with *Clearchus*, there having been an Intercourse of Hospitality between them. As to that Part of the Money which was appropriated to *Diana* of *Ephesus*, he left it with *Megabyesus*, the *Sacristan* of that Goddess, <sup>10</sup> when he departed out of *Asia*, in Company with *Agésilas*, with a Design to go to *Bæotia*, conceiving he might be expos'd to some Danger with him at *Choronea*. He enjoin'd *Megabyesus*, if he escap'd, to restore the Money to him, otherwise, to make such an Offering with it, as he thought would be most acceptable to the Goddess, and dedicate it to her. Afterwards, when *Xenophon* was banish'd from *Athens*, and liv'd at *Scilus*, a Town built

<sup>10</sup> Οτε ἀπῆει σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ. See the Life of *Xenophon* prefix'd to this Translation, where this and many other subsequent Passages are explain'd.

built by the *Lacedæmonians* near *Olympia*, *Megabyfus* came to *Olympia*, to see the Games, and restor'd the Deposit. With this Money, *Xenophon* purchas'd some Lands in Honour of the Goddess, in the Place directed by the Oracle ; through which the River *Sellenus* happens to run, a River of the same Name running also hard by the Temple of the *Ephesian Diana*, and in both there are Shell-Fish <sup>11</sup> as well as other Fish. Besides, there are in this Place near *Scilus*, wild Beasts of all Kinds that are proper for the Chase. *Xenophon* also built a <sup>12</sup> Temple and an Altar with this consecrated Money : And, from that Time, offer'd to the Goddess an annual Sacrifice of the Tenth of the Product of every Season ;

<sup>11</sup> Κόγχαί. Under the Title of Κόγχαί in *Greek*, and *Conchæ* in *Latin*, are comprehended the infinite Variety of Shell-Fish describ'd by *Pliny* ; most of which, *Plin.N.H.* I dare say, I have seen in Sir *Hans Sloane's* magnificent 9 B. 33 c. and curious Collection of the Product of all the four Parts of the Earth ; which Collection I look upon as a much better Comment upon that Author, than all that has been written to explain him.

<sup>12</sup> Εποίησε δὲ καὶ ναόν, &c. *Pausanias* tells us that *Pausanias* near to this Temple stood a Monument, said to be erected 5 B. for *Xenophon*, with his Statue in *Penteliesian* Marble ; the Quarry of this Marble, so much celebrated among the Statuaries, was upon a Mountain of that Name Ib. 1 B. near *Athens* ; whatever Merit this Marble might have, c. 32. we find in *Pliny* that the first Statuaries made use of *Plin.N.H.* no other than that of *Paros*, though, since that Time, 36 B. he says, many whiter Kinds of Marble have been dis-

BOOK son; and all the Inhabitants, with the Men  
 V. and Women in the Neighbourhood, partook  
 of the Feast: and all, who are present at it,  
 have Barley-Meal, Bread, Wine and Sweet-  
 meats in Honour of the Goddess, and also their  
 Share of the Victims, that are killed from the  
 consecrated Lands, and of the Game that is  
 taken. For the Sons of *Xenophon*, and those  
 of the rest of the Inhabitants, always made a  
 general Hunting against the Feast, when all,  
 who desir'd it, hunted along with them: and  
 wild Boars, with <sup>13</sup> Roe and red Deer, were  
 taken both upon the consecrated Lands, and  
 upon a Mountain call'd *Pholoe*. The Place  
 lies near the Road, that leads from *Laceda-*  
*mon* to *Olympia*, about twenty Stadia from  
 the Temple of *Jupiter*, that stands in the  
 last of these Cities. There are Groves be-  
 longing to it, and Hills, cover'd with Trees,  
 very proper to feed Swine, Goats, Sheep  
 and

cover'd, and, not long before he writ, in the Quarries  
 of *Luna*, a Sea-Port Town of *Tuscany*. I have lately  
 seen, in the Hands of a very curious Person, a Piece  
 of Marble just brought from the Island of *Paros*; it is  
 exceeding white, and sparkles like the Fragments of  
 the most ancient Statues, which by these Circumstan-  
 ces, as well as by the Authority of the best Authors,  
 plainly appear to have been of that Marble.

<sup>13</sup> Δορκάδες. See the 79<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the  
 first Book. The Mountain *Pholoe* in *Arcadia* was fa-  
 mous for all Sorts of Game.

and Horses; so that those belonging to the Book  
Persons, who come to the Feast, find Plenty V.  
of Pasture. The Temple it self stands in a  
Grove of Fruit-Trees, that yield all Sorts of  
Fruit proper to the Season : <sup>14</sup> It resembles,  
in

<sup>14</sup> Ο δὲ ναός, ὡς μικρὸς μεγάλῳ, τῷ ἐν Εφέσῳ εἰκασ-  
ται· καὶ τὸ ξόανον οἰκεῖν, ὡς κυπαρίσσινον χρυσῷ ὄντι,  
τῷ ἐν Εφέσῳ. *Hutchinson* has, upon this Occasion,  
quoted a Passage out of *Pliny*, wherein that Author  
gives the Dimensions of the Temple of *Ephesus*; but  
it must be observ'd that the Temple, there describ'd by  
*Pliny*, was not in being at the Time of our Author; *Euseb.*  
since it was only begun after the first was burn'd down *Chron.*  
by *Herostratus*, which happen'd the same Night *Alex-* *Arrian*  
*ander* the Great was born, that is, in the *Attick* Month 7 *B.*  
*Boëdromion* (*September*) in the first Year of the 106<sup>th</sup> *Timæus* in  
*Olympiad*: Which gave Occasion to *Timæus*, the Hi- *Tully de*  
storian, to say, that it was no Wonder *Diana's* Temple *Nat. Deor.*  
was burn'd, since the Goddess was from Home attend- <sup>2</sup> *B.*  
ing *Olympias* in her Labour. The Temple therefore  
which was burn'd down by *Herostratus*, not That de-  
scrib'd by *Pliny*, (which was not begun 'till some Years  
after *Xenophon's* Death, and was 220 Years in building) *Plin. N. H.*  
must have been the Model of the Temple built by *Xeno-* <sup>36</sup> *B. c. 14.*  
*phon* at *Scilus*. The last Temple of *Ephesus*, *Alexander*, it  
seems, was so desirous to have inscrib'd with his Name,  
that he offer'd the *Ephesians* to bear all the Expence  
they had been, and should be at in building it, pro-  
vided they would consent to the Inscription: This they  
refus'd with as great Vanity as he desir'd it; but, be-  
ing sensible that a flat Denial might be attended with  
dangerous Consequences, they cloathed theirs with a  
Piece of Flattery, and told *Alexander* that it was not de- *Strabo,*  
cent for one God to dedicate Temples to another. The <sup>14</sup> *B.*  
same Judgment is to be made of the Quotation brought  
by *Hutchinson* out of *Pliny*, in Relation to the Wood of  
which the Statue of the *Ephesian Diana* was made, since  
we find, by this Passage of *Xenophon*, that the Statue in the

BOOK in little, the Temple of *Ephesus*, and the  
 V. Statue of the Goddess, is as like that of

*Ephesus*,  
 first Temple was of Gold. I am apt to believe also that the Representations of the *Ephesian Diana*, which are to be met with in several Monuments of Antiquity, are all taken from the Statue in the last Temple. The great Number of Breasts, with which the Body of this Statue is surrounded, (from which she was call'd *multimammia* πολύμας) confirm the Opinion of some learned Men that the *Egyptian Isis*, and the *Greek Diana*, were the same Divinity with *Rhæa* from the Hebrew Word רעה *Rahah*, to feed. The *Diana* of *Ephesus* also, like *Rhæa*, or *Cybele*, was crown'd with Turrets, which Symbol of *Rhæa*, together with her Fecundity, are both set forth in those beautiful Verses, where *Virgil* compares *Rome* to this Goddess,

Virgil 6E. *En hujus, Nate, Auspiciis illa inclita Roma  
 Imperium Terris, animos æquabit Olympo:  
 Septemque una sibi Muro circumdabit Arces,  
 Felix Prole virum: qualis Berecynthia mater  
 Invehitur curru Phrygiæ turrata per urbes,  
 Lætæ Deum partu, centum complexa Nepotes,  
 Omnes Cælicolas, omnes supera alta tenentes.*

I am surpriz'd that *Montfaucon*, in his Account of the *Diana* of *Ephesus*, and of the various Representations of that Goddess, does not distinguish between the two Temples and the two Statues, but contents himself with quoting the same Passage out of *Pliny*, to shew the different Opinions of People concerning the Wood of which the Statue was made. But, to return to the *Greek Diana*, the *Phrygian Rhæa*, or the *Egyptian Isis*, all Emblems of Fecundity, it is very observable that almost all the Statues of the *Ephesian Diana* have a Crab upon the Breast; of which *Montfaucon*, after he has given the Opinions of the Antiquaries, says the Signification is uncertain; however uncertain it may be, I beg I may be allowed to offer a Conjecture about it. Every one agrees that the Representation of the *Ephesian Diana* was taken from the *Egyptian Isis*, and all

Montfau-  
 con, *Anti-*  
*quity ex-*  
*plain'd*,  
 3 B.

*Ephesus*, as a Statue of Cyprus can be to Book  
one of Gold: Near to the Temple stands V.  
a Pillar with this Inscription. *These Lands*  
*are consecrated to Diana. Let the Possessor offer up the tenth Part of the annual*  
*Product in Sacrifice, and, out of the Sur-*  
*plus, keep the Temple in repair. If he fails,*  
*the Goddess will punish his Neglect.*

FROM *Cerazunt*, those, who went on  
board before, continued their Voyage by Sea,  
and the rest proceeded by Land. When they  
came to the Confines of the <sup>1s</sup> *Mosynæcians*,

they  
all Authors, both ancient and modern, affirm that the Herodotus  
overflowing of the Nile becomes remarkable generally in Euterpe.  
at the Summer Solstice; how then could the Egyptians Maillet 2  
represent Fertility better than by placing on the Breast Letter.  
of their Goddess *Isis*, or universal Nature, that Sign  
in the *Zodiack*, which denotes the Summer Solstice,  
when the fertile Water of the Nile begins to diffuse  
Plenty over the Face of their Country? This hiero-  
glyphical Manner of representing Fertility is agreeable  
to the Genius of the Egyptians, who seem to have  
pursued it in the Composition of their fictitious Ani-  
mal, the Sphinx, a Figure composed of the Body of a  
Lion and the Head of a Virgin, with the same View  
of denoting Plenty spread over Egypt by the overflowing  
of the Nile, during the Time the Sun passes through  
the Signs of the Lion and Virgin, which immediately  
follow the Summer Solstice, *שפן* *Sphang* in Hebrew,  
from whence the word *Sphinx* is visibly deriv'd, signi-  
fying overflowing.

<sup>1s</sup> *Μοσυνόικων*. The *Mosynæcians* are thus para-  
phras'd by *Dionysius Periegetes*,



BOOK they sent *Timesitheus* of *Trebisond* to them,  
 V. between whom and them there was an In-  
 {tercourse of Hospitality, to ask them in their  
 Name, whether they desir'd the *Greeks*  
 should march through their Country as  
 Friends or as Enemies? The *Mosynæcians*  
 answer'd it was equal to them; for they  
 trusted to their Places of Strength. Upon  
 this *Timesitheus* inform'd the *Greeks*, that  
 the *Mosynæcians*, who inhabited the Country  
 beyond these, were at Enmity with them: So  
 they resolv'd to send to this People to know  
 whether they were dispos'd to enter into an  
 Alliance; and *Timesitheus*, being sent upon  
 this Occasion, return'd with their Magistrates.  
 When they were arriv'd, they had a Con-  
 ference with the Generals of the *Greeks*, and  
*Xenophon* spoke to them in this Manner,  
*Timesitheus* being the Interpreter.

“ O *Mosynæcians*! We propose to go  
 “ to *Greece* by Land, for we have no  
 “ Ships:

——— οἱ μόσσυνας ἔχουσιν  
 Δυσρατίες. ———

Dionysius Upon which *Eustathius* observes λέγει μόσσυνας ἔχουσιν  
 Periegetes δυσρατίες, ἤγουν ξυλίνας. It seems the *Greeks* gave them  
 v. 766. the Name of *Mosynæcians*, from the wooden Towers  
 they inhabited, μόσσυ signifying in *Greek* a wooden  
 Tower.

“ Ships : but these People, who, as we un-  
 “ derstand, are your Enemies, oppose our  
 “ Passage. You have it in your Power,  
 “ therefore, if you think proper, by entering  
 “ into an Alliance with us, both to take  
 “ Revenge of them for any Injuries they  
 “ may have formerly done you, and to  
 “ keep them in Subjection for the future.  
 “ Consider then, whether, if you neglect  
 “ this Opportunity, you are ever like to  
 “ be supported with so powerful an Al-  
 “ liance”. To this the chief Magistrate of the  
*Mosynæcians* made Answer, that he approv’d  
 of this, and accepted our Alliance. “ Let  
 “ us know then, said *Xenophon*, what Use  
 “ you propose to make of us, if we become  
 “ your Allies? And of what Service you can  
 “ be to us in our Passage.” They answer’d,  
 “ We have it in our Power to make an Ir-  
 “ ruption, on the other Side, into the Country  
 “ of those who are Enemies to us both, and  
 “ to send hither Ships with Men, who will be  
 “ both your Auxiliaries, and your Guides.”

UPON these Terms they gave their Faith,  
 and receiv’d Ours, and then return’d. The next  
 Day they came back with three hundred Ca-  
 noes, three Men being in each, two of whom  
 dif-

BOOK disembarking, stood to their Arms in Order  
 V. of Battle, and the third remain'd on board.

These went away in their Canoes, and the rest dispos'd themselves in the following Manner. They drew up in several Lines, each consisting of about one hundred Men, which, like Rows of Dancers, fac'd one another; they had all Bucklers made of the Hides of white Oxen with the Hair on, and shap'd like an ivy Leaf: And, in their right Hands, a Spear six Cubits in Length, with a Point on the upper Part, and, on the lower, a Ball of the same Wood. They wore Vests, which did not reach to their Knees, of the Thickness of <sup>16</sup> linen Bags, in which Carpets are usually pack'd up; and, on their Heads, Helmets made of Leather, like those of the *Paphlagonians*, from the Middle of which there rose a <sup>17</sup> Tuft of Hair braided to a Point resembling

Plutarch  
 in Cæsar

<sup>16</sup> Στρωματόδεσμοι. It was in one of these *Sacks* that *Cleopatra* conveyed herself in Order to deceive *Cæsar's* Guards, and solicit him against her Brother; ἀπόρρυ δὲ, says *Plutarch*, τῷ λαθεῖν ὄντι ἄλλως, ἡ μὲν εἰς στρωματόδεσμον ἐνδύσα, προτείνει μακρὰν ἑαυτὴν· ὃ δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἰμάτι συνδήσας τὸν στρωματόδεσμον, εἰσκομίζει πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα.

<sup>17</sup> Κεῶβυλον. I shall quote a Passage of *Thucydides*, upon this Occasion, not only to explain the Signification of this Word, but also because the Passage itself contains an Account of a very odd Dress in Use among  
 the


sembling a Tiara. They had also Battle-Axes BOOK  
made of Iron. Then one of them led the V.  
Way, and all the rest followed, singing also,  
and marching in Time; when, passing through  
the Ranks of the *Greeks*, as they stood to  
their Arms, they advanc'd immediately a-  
gainst the Enemy, to a Fort that seem'd in  
no Degree capable of making Resistance.

This

the *Athenians* of old, with the Observation of the *Greek*  
Scholiast upon it. *Thucydides* tells us, that, not long be-  
fore his Time, the old Men at *Athens*, of the richer  
Sort, wore linen Vests, and the Braids of their Hair,  
interwoven with golden Grasshoppers: *καὶ οἱ πρεσβύ- Thucydi-*  
*τεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων, διὰ τὸ ἀβροδίατον, ἔπο-* *des, 1 B.*  
*λύς χρόνῳ ἔπειδὴ χιτῶνάς τε λινοῦς ἐπαύσαντο φορεῖντες,*  
*καὶ χρυσῶν τετίγων ἐνέρσει κρώβυλον ἀναδύμενοι τῶν ἐν*  
*τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν.* The *Greek* Scholiast, in his Ob-  
servation upon this Passage, fully explains the word  
*κρώβυλος*, made Use of by *Xenophon* in that now be-  
fore us: *Κρώβυλος*, says he, *ἔστιν εἶδος πλέγματος*  
*τῶν τριχῶν, ἀπὸ ἑκατέρων εἰς ὅξυ ἀπολήγον· ἐκαλεῖτο*  
*δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν, κρώβυλος· τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν, κόρυμ-*  
*βος· τῶν δὲ παίδων σκαρπίος* — *ἐφόρου δὲ τέτιγας,*  
*διὰ τὸ μασικόν, ἢ διὰ τὸ αὐτόχθονας εἶναι, καὶ γὰρ τὸ*  
*ζῶον γηγενές.* And this is the Sense I have given to  
the Word *κρώβυλος* in my Translation of this Passage.  
The last Reason given by the *Greek* Scholiast for the  
*Athenians* wearing Grasshoppers in their Hair seems the  
best founded, that is, that they did it to shew they  
were the original Inhabitants of the Country, for every  
body knows this was their Pretension. I am at a  
Loss to know what induc'd *d'Ablandcourt* to translate  
*Κρώβυλος* *un cercle de Fer*. He has been equally un-  
fortunate in rendring the following Passage, *χιτωνίτ-*  
*κας δὲ ἐνεδεδύκεσαν ὑπὲρ γονάτων, ἵς αὐτοῖς des cottes*  
*d'armes qui leur passaient les genoux.*

BOOK This Fort stood before the City, which they  
V. called the Metropolis, that contained within  
it the most considerable Citadel of the *Mosynæcians*. This Citadel was the Subject of the present War between them; for those, who were in Possession of it, were always looked upon to have the Command of all the rest of the *Mosynæcians*: they told us that the others had seized this Place, contrary to all Justice, it belonging to both Nations in common, and, by seizing it, had gain'd the Ascendant over them.

SOME of the *Greeks* followed these Men, not by the Orders of their Generals, but for the sake of Plunder. The Enemy, upon their Approach, kept themselves quiet for a Time; but, when they came near the Fort, they sallied out, and, putting them to Flight, killed many of the *Barbarians*, together with some of the *Greeks*, who were of the Party; and pursued them 'till they saw the *Greek Army* coming up to their Assistance. Upon which they turn'd and fled: And, cutting off the Heads of the Slain, they shewed them both to the *Greeks* and to the *Mosynæcians*, their Enemies; dancing at the  
same

same Time, and <sup>18</sup> singing a particular Book Tune. This Accident gave the *Greeks* V.   
great Uneasiness, both because it encouraged the Enemy, and because their own Men, who were of the Party in great Numbers, ran away; which had never happen'd before during the whole Expedition. Upon this *Xenophon*, calling the Soldiers together, spoke to them in this Manner. " Gentlemen! don't suffer yourselves to be cast down by what has happen'd: For the Good, that attends it, is not less than the Evil. In the first Place, this has convinc'd you that our Guides are, in reality, Enemies to those to whom we are so through Necessity. Secondly, those *Greeks*, who despis'd our Discipline, and thought themselves able to perform as great Things in Conjunction with the *Barbarians*, as with us, are justly punished: So that, for the future, they will be less desirous of leaving our Army. Prepare yourselves therefore to let those *Barbarians*, who are your Friends, see, that you are superior

<sup>18</sup> Νόμῳ τινὶ ᾄδοντες. Νόμος is used in the same Sense by *Herodotus*, where, speaking of the Adventure of *Arion*, he says, τὸν δὲ (Ἀρίωνα) ἐνδύντα τε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν Κλίῳ σκευὴν, καὶ λαβόντα τὴν κιθάρην, πάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδάλλεσσι διεξελλθεῖν νόμον τὸν ὀρθιον.

BOOK “rior to them in Courage, and to shew  
V. “those, who are your Enemies, that they  
“will not find you the same Men now,  
“as when they engag’d you, while you  
“were in Disorder.”

THUS they pass’d this Day. The next, as soon as they had offer’d Sacrifice, and found the Victims favourable, they took their Repast. After that, the Army being drawn up in Columns, and the *Barbarians* plac’d on the left in the same Disposition, they went on, the Archers marching in the Intervals, a little within the foremost Ranks of the heavy-arm’d Men; for the Enemy’s Forlorn, consisting of light-arm’d, advanc’d before the rest, and discharg’d a Volley of Stones among the *Greeks*. These were repuls’d by the Archers and Targeteers. The rest march’d slowly on, and first went against the Fort, before which the *Barbarians* and the *Greeks*, who were with them, had been put to Flight the Day before: for here the Enemy was drawn up. The *Barbarians* receiv’d the Targeteers, and fought with them: But, when the heavy-arm’d Men came up, they fled; and the Targeteers immediately followed, pursuing them

them up the Hill to the Metropolis, while the heavy-arm'd Men march'd on in their Ranks. As soon as the *Greeks* had gain'd the Top of the Hill, and came to the Houses of the Metropolis, the Enemy, being now got together in a Body, engag'd them, and lanc'd their Javelins; and, with other Spears, which were of that Length and Thickness that a Man could scarce wield one of them, they endeavour'd to defend themselves hand to hand.

BOOK  
V.

HOWEVER the *Greeks* pressing hard upon them, and engaging them in a close Fight, they fled, and presently all the *Barbarians* quitted the Town. But their King, who resided in a wooden Tower situated upon an Eminence, (whom, while he resides there, and guards the Place, they maintain at the publick Expence) refus'd to leave it, as did also those who were in the Place that was first taken: So they were burn'd there together with their Towers. The *Greeks*, in sacking the Town, found, in the Houses, great Heaps of Bread made, according to the Custom of the Country, the Year before; as the *Mosynæcians* assur'd us: and the new



BOOK Corn laid up in the Straw ; <sup>19</sup> it was most of  
 V. it Spelt. They found also Dolphins cut in-  
 to Pieces, lying in pickle in Jars : And, in  
 other Vessels, the Fat of the same Fish, which  
 the *Mosynæcians* used, as the *Greeks* do Oil.  
 In their Garrets were great Quantities of  
 °° Chestnuts. These they boil and generally  
 used instead of Bread. There was found  
 Wine also, which, when unmix'd, was so  
 rough that it appear'd sour : But, being  
 mix'd with Water, became both fragrant and  
 sweet.

THE *Greeks*, having dined there, went  
 forward, delivering up the Place to those  
*Mosynæcians* who had assisted them in taking  
 it. As for the rest of the Towns they arriv'd  
 at, which belong'd to the Enemy, the easi-  
 est of Access were either abandon'd, or sur-  
 rendred.

<sup>19</sup> Ζείσι. Ζεία or Ζέα in *Greek*, is what the Ro-  
 mans called *Far*, as we find very particularly in *Diony-  
 sius Halicarnassensis*, where, speaking of the matrimo-  
 nial Ceremony, by them called *confarreatio*, he says  
 it had its Name ἀπὸ τῆς κοινωνίας τῆ Φάρρῶς, ὃ καλε-  
 μεν ἡμεῖς ζέαν ; I am apt to believe it is what we call  
 Spelt. Pliny says the Epithet of ζείδωρ which Ho-  
 mer gives so often to ἄρκεα is deriv'd from ζέα, not  
 from ζῆν, according to the general Opinion.

<sup>20</sup> Κάρυα τὰ πλατὰ ἐν ἔχοντα διαφυὴν ὑδμείαν.  
 Literally *flat Nuts without any Cleft* ; Κάρυα signifies  
*Nuts* in general ; by these Additions they are distin-  
 guished both from common Nuts, and Walnuts.

rendred. The greatest Part of which are of this Nature ; they are distant from one another eighty Stadia, some more, some less ; and yet, when the Inhabitants call out to one another, they can be heard from one Town to another : So mountainous, and so hollow is the Country. The *Greeks* proceeding still forwards, arriv'd among their Allies, who shewed them Boys belonging to the rich Men, fatted with boil'd Chestnuts : Their Skin was delicate and exceeding white, and they were very near as thick as they were long. Their Backs were painted with various Colours, and all their fore Parts<sup>22</sup> impress'd with Flowers. They wanted publickly

BOOK  
V.  
}

x

to  
<sup>22</sup> Εστιγμένους ἀνθέμιον. I am not at all surpriz'd that the Translators are puzzled at the Word ἀνθέμιον in this Place, for, I believe, it is no easy Matter to find it used in this Sense by any other Author ; *Hutchinson* has said, after *Leunclavius*, *picturâ floridâ distinctis*, which though I am far from condemning, yet I think ἀνθεμόεν is the Word used by all Authors in that Sense ; this is the Epithet *Homer* gives to the Bafon or Charger, which *Achilles* proposes as one of the Prizes to the Victor in throwing the Dart,

Καδδὲ λείβητ' ἄπυρον βοὸς ἄξιον ἀνθεμόεντα  
Θῆκ' ἐς ἀγῶνα φέρον. ———

Homer *Il.*  
ψ.

Which *Mr. Pope* has translated, as he ever does, with great Propriety,

*An ample Charger of unsullied Frame,  
With Flow'rs high-wrought ———*

BOOK to make Use of the Women the *Greeks*

V. brought with them. It seems this is their  
 Custom. The People of this Country, both  
 Men and Women, are very fair: All the Army  
 agreed that these were the most barbarous  
 People they had met with in all their Expe-  
 dition, and the most distant from the Man-  
 ners

The Lexicons are as silent, in Relation to this Sense of the word ἀνθέμιον, as the Authors; *Hesychius* says it signifies a winding Line in Pillars, γραμμὴ τις ἐλικοειδὴς ἐν τοῖς κίοσι, I suppose he means *twisted Pillars*; it is therefore submitted to the Reader whether *Xenophon* may not say that the Fore-parts of these People were impress'd with this Kind of Flourishes. *D'Ablancourt* has said, with great Art and little Fidelity, *ils avoient le dos & l'estomach peint de diverses Couleurs*, by this Means he has left out ἀνθέμιον. The Custom, mention'd by *Xenophon* to have been in Practice among the *Mosynæcians* of painting their Bodies, was also used by our Ancestors, as we find in *Cæsar*, who says that all the Britons painted themselves with Woad, which makes a blue Dye. *Omnes se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod ceruleum efficit colorem.* This Word *vitrum* has, I find, puzzled the Commentators; but it signifies here the Plant which the *Greeks* call ἰσάρις, in *English*, *Woad*, a Plant well known to the Dyers, who use great Quantities of it to make their blue Dye. *Herba*, says *Marcellus Empiricus*, *quam nos vitrum, Græci Isatida vocant.* The *Plin. N.H.* French called this Herb, in *Pliny's* Time, *Glastum*, and, to this Day, they call it *Guesde* as well as *Passel*. I am inform'd that the *Welch*, as well as the Inhabitants of *Lower Britany* in *France*, still call it *Glast*, so that it is probable the equivocal Application of *vitrum* may have given Occasion to the equivocal Sense of the Word *Glast*.

Cæsar G.  
W. 5 B.

Diosc. 2B.

Marc.  
Emp. c. 23.  
Plin. N.H.  
22 B. c. 1.

ners of the *Greeks*. For <sup>22</sup> they do those Things in publick, which others do in private, otherwise they dare not do them at all: And, in private, they behave themselves as if they were in publick. They talk to themselves, they laugh by themselves, and dance, wherever they happen to be, as if they were shewing their Skill to others. The *Greeks* were eight Days in passing through the Enemy's Country, and that which belong'd to the *Mosynæcians* their Allies.

AFTER that they arriv'd among the <sup>23</sup> *Chalybians*. These are few in Number, and

D 3

subject

<sup>22</sup> ΕΥΤΕ γὰρ ὅχλω ὄντες. This Account of the very odd Manners of this People is transcrib'd almost Word for Word by *Eustathius* in his Notes upon *Dionysius Periegetes*. Upon this Occasion I can't help mentioning what *Strabo* says of the *Irish*, *Φανερώς* <sup>Strabo, 4 B.</sup> μίσγεσθαι ταῖς τε ἄλλαις γυναιξὶ, καὶ Μητράσι καὶ Ἀδελφαῖς; but, lest we should think ourselves less barbarous than our Neighbours, *Cæsar* says the same Thing of the *Britons*. <sup>Cæsar. G. W. 5 B.</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Εἰς Χάλυβας. *Strabo* is of Opinion that these were the same with the *Alizonians* mention'd by *Homer*, <sup>Strabo, 12 B.</sup>

Αὐτὰρ Ἀλιζώνων Οὐδὲ δὲ Ἐπί-ροφον ἦρχον  
Τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀλύβης, ὅθεν ἀργύρεα ἔσσι γενέθλη.

And that either the Poet writ ἐκ χαλύβης, or that the Inhabitants were originally called *Alybians*. By this Passage of *Homer* it seems they were, at that Time, as famous for their Mines of Silver, as they were afterwards for Those of Iron.

BOOK subject to the *Mosynæcians*: and the great-  
 V. est Part of them subsist by the Manufacture  
 of Iron. From thence they came to the <sup>24</sup>  
*Tibarenians*. This is a much more champaign  
 Country, and their Towns, near the Sea, are  
 not so strong. These the Generals were  
 dispos'd to attack, that the Army might  
 have the Advantage of some Plunder. For  
 this Reason they declin'd receiving the Pre-  
 sents, which the *Tibarenians* sent them, as  
 a Token of Hospitality: But, having order'd  
 those who brought them, to wait 'till they  
 had conferred together, they offer'd Sacrifice:  
 and, after many Victims were slain, all the  
 Priests agreed that the Gods, by no Means,  
 allow'd them to make War upon this People.  
 Hereupon, they accepted their Presents, and  
 marching, as through a Country belong-  
 ing to their Friends, they came to <sup>25</sup> *Cotyora*,  
 a Greek City, and a Colony of the *Sinopi-*  
*ans*, situated in the Territory of the *Tibare-*  
*nians*.

THUS

<sup>24</sup> Τιβαρνῆς. These were called, by *Dionysius Periegetes*, πολύρρητες Τιβαρνῆοι, which Epithet agrees very well with the Account our Author gives of their Country.

Arrian  
 Periplus of <sup>25</sup> Κοτύωρα. This Town was no more than a  
 the Euxine Village in *Arrian's* Time, and, as he says, a small  
 Sea. one.

THUS far the Army travelled by Land, Book V.  
 having, in their Retreat from the Field of Battle near *Babylon* to *Cotyora*, made, in one hundred and twenty-two Marches, six hundred and twenty Parasangas, that is, eighteen thousand six hundred Stadia, in which they spent eight Months. Here they staid forty-five Days : During which they first offer'd Sacrifice to the Gods : <sup>26</sup> Then, dividing themselves, according to their several Nations, made Processions, and celebrated *Gymnick* Games. After that they went out to get Provisions, taking some out of *Paphlagonia*, and the rest out of the Country of the *Cotyorians*; for they refus'd to supply them with a Market, or to admit their Sick into the City.

IN the mean Time Embassadors arriv'd from *Sinope*; these were in Pain both for

D 4

the

<sup>26</sup> Κατ' ἑθνῶν. *Leunclavius* has translated this, I think, properly, *Græcis per singulas Nationes distinctis*; and *Hutchinson*, who takes Notice of this Translation of *Leunclavius* in his Notes without any Mark of Disapprobation, has however chosen to render it *quisque pro more gentis*; I own I doubt whether κατὰ ἑθνῶν signifies *pro more gentis*. By the little Acquaintance I have had with the *Greek* Authors, I observe that κατὰ τὰ πάτρια is almost always the Expression they make Use of upon that Occasion.

BOOK the City of the *Cotyrians*, which belong'd  
 V. to them, and paid them Tribute, and for  
 the Country, which they heard was plunder'd. When they came to the Camp of the  
*Greeks*, they spoke thus, *Hecatonymus*, who  
 was esteem'd a Man of great Eloquence, speaking for the rest. " Gentlemen! the City of  
 " *Sinope* has sent us hither first to commend  
 " you, for that, being *Greeks*, you have  
 " overcome the *Barbarians*: Next to con-  
 " gratulate you upon your safe Arrival  
 " through many, and (as we are inform'd)  
 " grievous Hardships. But we have Reason  
 " to expect that, as we are *Greeks* also, we  
 " shall rather receive Favours, than Injuries  
 " from *Greeks*: Particularly, since we have  
 " never provok'd you by any ill Treatment.  
 " I must acquaint you then, that *Cotyora* is  
 " our Colony, and that, having conquer'd  
 " this Country from the *Barbarians*, we  
 " have given it to them. For which Reason,  
 " they pay us the Tribute at which they  
 " are taxed, in the same Manner with the  
 " Inhabitants of *Cerazunt* and *Trebisond*:  
 " So that, whatever Injury you do them,  
 " the City of *Sinope* will look upon it as  
 " done to themselves. Now, we are in-  
 " form'd that you have enter'd their Town  
 " by

“ by Force; that some of you are quarter’d BOOK  
 “ in their Houses, and that you take what V.  
 “ you want, out of the Country, without  
 “ their Consent. These Things we cannot  
 “ approve of, and, if you continue this Beha-  
 “ viour, we shall be oblig’d to enter into  
 “ an Alliance with *Corylas*, and the *Pa-*  
 “ *phlagonians*, and with any other Nation  
 “ we can prevail upon to assist us.”

THEN *Xenophon* rose up, and spoke thus  
 in Behalf of the Soldiers. “ We are come  
 “ hither, O Men of *Sinope*! well satisfied  
 “ with having preserv’d our Persons, and our  
 “ Arms; for, to bring our Booty along with  
 “ us, and, at the same Time, to fight with our  
 “ Enemies was impossible. And now, since  
 “ we arriv’d among the *Greek* Cities, at *Tre-*  
 “ *bisond*, for Example, we paid for all the  
 “ Provisions we had; because they supplied  
 “ us with a Market: And, in Return for the  
 “ Honours they did us, and the Presents they  
 “ gave to the Army, we paid them all Re-  
 “ spect, abstaining from those *Barbarians*,  
 “ who were their Friends, and doing all  
 “ the Mischief we were able to their E-  
 “ nemies, against whom they led us. En-  
 “ quire of them what Usage they have re-  
 “ ceiv’d



BOOK " ceiv'd from us, for the Guides, whom  
 V. " that City has sent along with us through  
 { " Friendship, are here present. But wherever  
 " we find no Market provided for us, whe-  
 " ther among the *Barbarians* or *Greeks*,  
 " we supply ourselves with Provisions, not  
 " through Insolence, but Necessity. Thus  
 " we made the *Carduchians*, the *Chal-*  
 " *deans*, and the *Taochians*, (though no  
 " Subjects of the King, yet very warlike Na-  
 " tions) our Enemies, by being oblig'd to  
 " take what we wanted, because they refus'd  
 " to supply us with a Market; while we  
 " treated the *Macronians*, though *Barba-*  
 " *rians*, as Friends, and took nothing from  
 " them by Force, because they supplied us  
 " with the best Market they were able. And,  
 " if we have taken any Thing from the *Co-*  
 " *tyorians*, who, you say, are your Sub-  
 " jects, they are themselves the Cause of it:  
 " for they have not behaved themselves to  
 " us, as Friends; but, shutting their Gates,  
 " would neither suffer us to come within  
 " their Walls, nor supply us with a Market  
 " without: And of this they lay the Fault  
 " upon the Person you have sent thither as  
 " their Governour. As to what you say  
 " concerning our quartering in their Houses  
 " by

“ by Force, we desir’d them to receive our Book  
“ Sick under their Roofs: they refusing to V.  
“ open the Gates, we pass’d through them  
“ into the City, without committing any  
“ other Act of Violence: And our Sick  
“ lodge now in their Houses without put-  
“ ting them to any Expence. We have, it is  
“ true, plac’d a Guard at the Gates, that our  
“ People may not be under the Power of  
“ your Governour, but that we may be at  
“ Liberty to carry them away, whenever  
“ we think proper. The rest of us, as you  
“ see, encamp, in Order, in the open Air,  
“ prepar’d, if any one does us a Favour,  
“ to return it, if an Injury, to resent it.  
“ You threaten to enter into an Alliance  
“ with *Corylas* and the *Paphlagonians*, if  
“ you see convenient, against us. Know  
“ then, that, if you force us to it, we will  
“ encounter you both; (for we have already  
“ engag’d much more numerous Enemies)  
“ besides, we have it also in our Power, if we  
“ think fit, to enter into an Alliance with  
“ the *Paphlagonian*; for we are inform’d  
“ that he wants to make himself Master both  
“ of your City and of the maritime Towns.  
“ We shall therefore endeavour, by assisting  
“ him

BOOK “ him in attaining what he desires, to gain  
V. “ his Friendship.”

UPON this, the rest of the Embassadors shewed a visible Dislike of what *Hecatonymus* had said; and another of them advancing, said they were not come to declare War, but to express their Friendship. “ And if, says he, “ you think fit to come to *Sinope*, we will “ receive you in a hospitable Manner, and, “ for the present, Directions shall be given “ to the Inhabitants of this Place to supply “ you with every Thing they can; for we “ are sensible you advance nothing but what “ is true.” After this the *Cotyrians* sent Presents to the Army, and the Generals of the *Greeks* also treated the Embassadors with all Hospitality. They all conferred together a considerable Time in a very friendly Manner, and, among other Things, the Generals enquir’d concerning the Remainder of the Way, and both of every Thing that related to their respective Concerns. And thus ended that Day.

THE next Day the Generals thought proper to call the Soldiers together, and to consider of the rest of their March in the Presence

sence of the *Sinopians*: for, if they determin'd to travel by Land, they thought these might be of Service to conduct them, for they were well acquainted with *Paphlagonia*; and, if by Sea, they imagin'd they should also want the Assistance of the *Sinopians*, for they alone seem'd capable of providing a sufficient Number of Ships to transport them. Calling therefore the Embassadors, they consulted together; and the Generals desir'd that, as they themselves were *Greeks*, they would first shew their Hospitality by their Benevolence to *Greeks*, and by giving them the best Advice they were able.

THEN *Hecatonymus* rose up, and first made an Apology for having said that they would enter into an Alliance with the *Paphlagonian*, alledging that he did not say this with a View of making War upon the *Greeks*, but to let them see, that, having it in their Power to make an Alliance with the *Barbarians*, they preferr'd That of the *Greeks*. Being called upon to give his Advice, he first invok'd the Gods: Then said thus.

“ If the Advice I am going to give you, appears to me the best, may I be prosperous;  
 “ otherwise, miserable: For the present  
 “ Counsel

BOOK “ Counsel seems to be of the Nature of  
 V. “ those, which are term’d <sup>27</sup> Holy. If there-  
 fore I am found to advise you well, I shall  
 “ have many to applaud me, and if ill, many  
 “ to curse me. I am sensible then that we  
 “ shall have much more Trouble, if you re-  
 “ turn by Sea; for, in that Case, we shall be  
 “ oblig’d to supply you with Ships: Where-  
 “ as, if you go by Land, it will be incum-  
 “ bent on You to fight your Way through.  
 “ However, I must speak what I think; for  
 “ I am well acquainted both with the Coun-  
 “ try of the *Paphlagonians*, and with their  
 “ Strength. Their Country contains many  
 “ very fair Plains, and Mountains of a prodi-  
 “ gious Height. And first of all I know the  
 “ Place, where you must, of Necessity, enter  
 “ it; for there is but one Pass, and That lies  
 “ between two Points of a Rock exceeding  
 “ high. These a very few Men, posted there,  
 “ may

<sup>27</sup> *ἱερὰ συμβολή.* We find by this Passage of *Xenophon*, and by another in *Plato*, that it was a common Saying among the *Greeks* that *Counsel was a divine Thing*. If, says the latter to *Demodocus*, *Counsel is called a divine Thing, none can be more so than that which relates to the present Question*, this was Education, ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ, ὡς Δημόδοκε, καὶ λέγεταιί γε συμβολὴ ἱερὸν χρῆμα εἶναι. Εἵπερ ὅν καὶ ἄλλη ἥτις οὖν ἐστὶν ἱερὰ καὶ αὐτὴ αὖν εἴη, περὶ ἧς σὺ νῦν συλβαλεύῃ. *D’Ablancourt* was sensible this Parenthesis could have no Grace in a modern Language, but I doubt whether that Reason will be thought to justify his leaving it out.

Plato in  
Theages.

“ may defend : and, if the Enemy are once  
 “ Masters of this Pass, all the Men in the  
 “ World cannot force their Way. This I  
 “ can make appear to any one you think pro-  
 “ per to send along with me. On the other  
 “ Side of this Pass, I am well assur’d, you will  
 “ find Plains, and, upon them, a Body of  
 “ Horse, which the *Barbarians* themselves  
 “ think exceeds all the Cavalry the King is  
 “ Master of. These, though lately summon’d,  
 “ did not attend him, their Commander be-  
 “ ing too haughty to obey. But, admit you  
 “ could even seize the Pass between these  
 “ Mountains unobserv’d, and prevent the  
 “ Enemy, and, afterwards, in the Plain, de-  
 “ feat their Horse, and Foot, whose Num-  
 “ bers amount to above one hundred and  
 “ twenty thousand Men, you will still find  
 “ several Rivers in your Way : First, the  
 “ <sup>28</sup> *Thermodon*, which is three hundred Feet  
 “ over : The Passage of which seems to me  
 “ very difficult, particularly, when you have a  
 “ numerous Army in Front, and another,  
 “ in your Rear. Secondly, the <sup>29</sup> *Iris* : This  
 “ is

<sup>28</sup> Τὸν θερμώδοντα. See the 15<sup>th</sup> Annotation on the sixth Book.

<sup>29</sup> Ἰρις. This River rises out of the Kingdom of *Pontus*, and, having received the *Lycus*, runs through <sup>Strabo,</sup> <sup>12 B.</sup> the

BOOK “ is also three hundred Feet Broad. The  
 V. “ third River you will meet with, is the <sup>30</sup>  
 { “ *Halys* not less than two Stadia in Breadth.  
 “ This you cannot pass without Boats; and  
 “ who is there to supply you with them?  
 “ The <sup>31</sup> *Parthenius* is, in like Manner, im-  
 “ passable. This River you would arrive at,  
 “ if you could pass the *Halys*. So that I  
 “ do not look upon this Road as only diffi-  
 “ cult, but absolutely impassable. Where-  
 “ as, if you go by Sea, you may sail from  
 “ hence to *Sinope*, and, from *Sinope*, to *He-*  
 “ *raclea*, and, from *Heraclea*, there will be  
 “ no Difficulty, either in going by Land,  
 “ or by Sea: For there you will find great  
 “ Numbers of Ships.”

WHEN he had done speaking, some sus-  
 pected he said this out of Friendship to  
*Corylas*, (for there was an Intercourse of Ho-  
 spitality between them) others that he expect-  
 ed to be rewarded for his Advice, and some  
 that he said it fearing lest, if they went by  
 Land,

the Plain of *Themiscyra*, and, from thence, falls into  
 the *Euxine* Sea.

<sup>30</sup> ΑΛΥΝ. See the 16<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the sixth  
 Book.

<sup>31</sup> Παρθένιος. See the 17<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the  
 sixth Book.

Land, they should do some Damage to the Country of the *Sinopians*. However the *Greeks* voted to go by Sea. After that *Xenophon* said, “ O Men of *Sinope* ! The “ Soldiers have determin’d to go in the “ Manner you advise. But thus the Case “ stands. We are contented to go by Sea, “ provided we are furnish’d with such a “ Number of Ships, that not a Man of us “ shall be left behind. But, if it is propos’d, “ that some of us should be left, and some “ set sail, we are resolv’d not to go on board “ at all : Because we are sensible that, where- “ ever we are the strongest, we shall not “ only be safe, but get Provisions also ; and “ that, if we are any where found weaker “ than our Enemies, we expect no better “ Usage than to be made Slaves.” The *Sinopians*, hearing this, desir’d the *Greeks* would send Ambassadors to them, and accordingly they sent *Callimachus* an *Arcadian*, *Ariston* an *Athenian*, and *Samylas* an *Achaian* ; who set out immediately.

IN the mean Time *Xenophon*, considering the great Number of *Greek* heavy-arm’d Men, of Targeteers, Archers, Slingers, and Horse, who, by long Experience, were now become



BOOK good Troops, look'd upon it as an Enterprize  
 V. of great Reputation to add to the Acquisi-  
 ~~~~~ tions of *Greece*, That of a Country with the  
 Power annex'd to it, by building a City  
 upon the *Euxine* Sea, where so great an  
 Army could not be got together without a  
 vast Expence. He had Reason to think this  
 City would grow considerable, both from  
 the Number of his own Men, and of the  
 neighbouring Inhabitants. Calling there-  
 fore *Silanus* of *Ambracia* to him, the same  
 who had been Soothsayer to *Cyrus*, he of-  
 fer'd Sacrifice upon this Occasion, before  
 he communicated his Thoughts to any of  
 the Soldiers. But *Silanus*, fearing this  
 should take Effect, and that the Army  
 should settle in some Place, acquainted the  
 Soldiers that *Xenophon* propos'd to detain  
 them there, and, by building a City, to ac-  
 quire Reputation and Power to himself.  
 The Design of *Silanus* in this was to get  
 to *Greece* as soon as possible, having sav'd  
 the three thousand <sup>32</sup> Daricks, which he  
 receiv'd from *Cyrus*, when, sacrificing by his  
 Order, he told him the Truth concerning  
 the ten Days. As soon as the Soldiers were  
 inform'd

<sup>32</sup> Δαρεικός. See the 11<sup>th</sup> Annotation on the first  
 Book.

inform'd of this, some thought it was best BOOK  
 for them to stay there; but the greatest V.  
 Part disapproved of it: And *Timasion* the  
*Dardanian*, and *Thorax* the *Bæotian*, told  
 some Merchants of *Heraclea* and *Sinope*,  
 who were present, that, if they did not  
 supply the Men with Money sufficient to  
 buy Provisions when they set sail, they were  
 in Danger of having so great an Army  
 settle in their Neighbourhood. For, said  
 they, *Xenophon* is the Author of this Re-  
 solution, and advises us, as soon as the Ships  
 arrive, immediately to speak to the Army  
 in these Terms. “Gentlemen! we observe  
 “you are at a Loss both how to get Provi-  
 “sions for your Voyage, and enrich your  
 “Families in some Measure, when you  
 “come Home: But, if you have a Mind to  
 “make Choice of some Part of the inha-  
 “bited Country that lies round the *Euxine*  
 “Sea, and possess yourselves of it, and that  
 “those who are desirous to return home,  
 “may go away, while the rest stay here,  
 “we are now furnish’d with Ships for that  
 “Purpose: So that you have it in your  
 “Power to make an unexpected Descent  
 “upon any Part of the Country you think  
 “fit.”

BOOK THE Merchants, hearing this, inform'd  
 V. their Cities of it : And *Timasion* of *Dardan-*  
*danus* sent *Eurymachus* also of *Dardanus*,  
 and *Thorax* of *Bæotia* with them to con-  
 firm it. As soon as the Inhabitants of *Si-*  
*nope* and *Heraclea* were acquainted with  
 this, they sent to *Timasion* to engage him,  
 in Consideration of a Sum of Money, to  
 persuade the Army to sail out of the *Euxine*  
 Sea. He was pleas'd with the Offer, and  
 spoke thus in the Assembly of the Soldiers.  
 “ Gentlemen ! we ought not to think of  
 “ staying here, or to prefer any other Coun-  
 “ try to *Greece*. I hear some People are  
 “ offering Sacrifice upon this Occasion,  
 “ without even acquainting you with their  
 “ Purpose ; but I promise you, if you sail  
 “ from hence the first <sup>33</sup> Day of the Month,  
 “ to

<sup>33</sup> *Ἀπὸ νημηνίας*. We find by several Passages in  
*Xenophon* and other Authors, that the Soldiers among  
 the *Greeks* receiv'd their Pay monthly : The Interest  
 of Money was also payable monthly among the *Greeks*,  
 as it was among the *Romans*. As the Payment both  
 of the Principal and Interest, and the rigorous Me-  
 thods allowed by Law to compel it, often occasion'd  
 great Convulsions among the latter, it may not be a-  
 miss to make some cursory Observations upon this Sub-  
 ject, particularly, since *Dacier*, in his Notes upon *Ho-*  
*race*, and many other modern Authors have very much  
 misrepresented it ; it is certain then that this monthly  
 Interest was one *per Cent.* by the Law of the twelve  
 Tables, that is, twelve *per Cent. per Ann.* this they  
 called

*Dacier's*  
*Notes upon*  
*the 2d Sat.*  
*of the 1st*  
*Book of*  
*Horace.*  
*Tacitus*  
*Annal. 5 B.*

“ to give each of you a <sup>34</sup> Cyzicene, for Book  
 “ your monthly Pay. My Design is to lead V.

“ you

called *unciarium Fœnus* ; and, what is very extraordinary, *Livy* says that, by the Establishment of this Interest, *Livy 7 B.*  
*Usury was made easy, unciario fœnore facto, levata Usura* <sup>19 c.</sup>  
*erat* ; an evident Sign of the Scarcity of Money ; but then it must be consider'd that the Year, to which this Reflection of *Livy* relates, was so early as the 399<sup>th</sup> of *Rome*. Afterwards, that is, in the 408<sup>th</sup> Year of *Rome*, *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *C. Plautius* being Consuls, this monthly Interest was reduced to half *per Cent.* that *Livy 7 B.*  
 is, to six *per Cent. per Ann. Semunciarium ex unciario* <sup>27 c.</sup>  
*fœnus factum*. But to return to the *ὑσμινία*, the Year of the *Greeks* was *Luni-Solar*, that is, form'd of twelve Synodical Months making in all but 354 Days, with an Intercalation of seven Months in nineteen Years, invented by *Meton*, (from whom it was called *Μέτωνος ἐνιαυτός*) to answer the annual Difference of eleven Days between the Lunar and Solar Year ; this was their civil Year ; and, as their new Year began at the first new Moon after the Summer Solstice (the *Romans* beginning theirs at the first after the Winter Solstice) it necessarily happen'd that the first Day of the Year of both began about Sun-set, for at that Time only the new Moon became visible. It is very possible that the Crescent with which *Diana* is represented, is owing to the Custom of proclaiming the new Moon, particularly, if, as I observ'd upon another Occasion, *Diana* and the *Egyptian Isis*, who is often represented with a Crescent upon her Head, were the same Divinity. This Ceremony of proclaiming the new Moon still continues in the *Levant*, where the *Turks*, whose Year is for 14 Lunar, publish, with great Solemnity, the first Appearance of the new Moon of their Month of *Ramazan*, which is their Lent.

<sup>34</sup> *Κυζικηνόν*. *Hesychius* and *Phavorinus* inform us that the Cyzicene was a Coin famous for being well struck, and that it had a Woman's Head on one Side ; to which *Suidas* adds, that, on the other, was the Head of a Lion. *Demosthenes* tells us they were *Phormion*.

Book " you into *Troas*, from whence I am banish'd : Where my Fellow-Citizens will assist you, for I know they will receive me with Pleasure. Thence I propose to carry you to those Parts, where you shall enrich yourselves: For I am acquainted with *Æolia*, *Phrygia*, and *Troas*, and with all the Country belonging to the Government of *Pharnabazus*; with one of them, by being born there, and with the other, by having serv'd there under *Clearchus*, and *Dercellidas*."

IMME-

Arbuthnot.

were worth 23 *Attick* Drachms, that is, 18 s. and 1 d. Sterling. The Woman's Head is possibly *Cybele*, who was suppos'd to be drawn by Lions, and who was worshipp'd in a particular Manner at *Pessinus* in *Phrygia*, not far from *Cyzicus*, whose tutelary God, however, was, I imagine, *Hercules*, whom they look'd upon as the Founder of their City, as may be seen by a Medal of *Domitian*, on the Reverse of which is a *Hercules* with this Inscription TON KTISTHΝ KYZIKHΝΩΝ.

Strabo, 12 B.

But we have great Reason to conclude that the Woman's Head is design'd for *Cybele* from what we find in *Strabo*, who says that near to *Cyzicus* stood a Temple of *Cybele*

Beger Th. Brand. vol. 1. p. 490.

built by the *Argonauts* upon the Mountain *Dindymon*, from which *Cybele* was called *Dindymene*. This being so, the Globe and the Fish, and particularly the Ears of Corn and Bunches of Grapes with which she is crown'd, will be very proper Symbols of universal

13<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon this Book.

Nature, which, as I endeavour'd to shew upon another Occasion, was represented by *Cybele*. *D'Ablandcourt* is of Opinion that the *Turkish Sequin* is deriv'd from *Cyziquin*; but *Ménoge* says that it comes from the *Italian Zecchino*, a *Venetian Ducat*, which takes its Name from *Zecca*, the Place where it is coined.

IMMEDIATELY *Thorax*, the *Bæotian*, BOOK  
(who had a perpetual Contest with *Xenophon* for the Command) rose up, and said, V.  
if they sail'd out of the *Euxine* Sea, they might settle in the *Chersonesus*, a Country of great Beauty and Fertility : Where those, who were willing, might inhabit, and from whence those who were not so, might return Home. He added, that it was ridiculous to hunt after Lands among the *Barbarians*, when others, of a great Extent, offer'd themselves in *Greece*. “ And, 'till “ you arrive there, says he, I, as well as “ *Timasion*, promise you Pay.” This he said from being acquainted with what the Inhabitants of *Heraclea* and *Sinope* had promised to *Timasion* upon Condition the Army set sail. All this Time *Xenophon* was silent. Then *Philesus* and *Lycon*, both *Achaians*, said, it was not to be suffer'd, that *Xenophon* should persuade the Soldiers in private to stay, and offer Sacrifice upon this Occasion, without letting the Army partake of the Sacrifice, yet say nothing of all this in publick. So that he was under a Necessity of rising up, and of speaking as follows.

BOOK

V.



" GENTLEMEN! I offer Sacrifice, as  
 " you are sensible, to the utmost of my  
 " Abilities, both for you and myself, to  
 " the End that my Words, my Thoughts,  
 " and Actions may be employed in those  
 " Things that are most for the Credit and  
 " Advantage of us all, And even now  
 " I was consulting the Gods by Sacrifice,  
 " whether it would be more expedient to  
 " mention this and treat with you about  
 " it, or not to concern myself at all in the  
 " Matter. Here *Silanus*, the Soothsayer,  
 " assur'd me, that the Victims, which is  
 " of the greatest Moment, were favourable  
 " (for he knew that I, by being constantly  
 " present at the Sacrifices, was not unac-  
 " quainted with these Things) but inform'd  
 " me, at the same Time, that, according to  
 " them, some Fraud and Treachery seem'd to  
 " threaten me: And in this, indeed, he was  
 " in the right, since he himself design'd  
 " treacherously to accuse me before you;  
 " for he has spread a Report that I had al-  
 " ready purpos'd to effect this without your  
 " Approbation. But the Truth is, when  
 " I saw you in Want, I consider'd by what  
 " Means you might possess yourselves of  
 " some Town, to the End that those  
 " among

“ among you who are willing, might set  
 “ fail immediately, and that those who were  
 “ not so, might stay ’till they had acquir’d  
 “ something to carry home to their Fami-  
 “ lies. But now I find both the Inhabitants  
 “ of *Heraclea* and *Sinope* are sending us  
 “ Ships, and that these Men promise you  
 “ your Pay from the Beginning of the  
 “ Month, I look upon it as an advantageous  
 “ Circumstance for us to be conducted, with  
 “ Safety, to the Place we desire, and to be  
 “ paid for being preserv’d. For this Rea-  
 “ son I not only give over all Thoughts  
 “ of that kind myself, but desire those who  
 “ came to me to declare themselves in Fa-  
 “ vour of that Measure, to desist also. For  
 “ this is my Sense of the Matter; while  
 “ you continue together, as you are now,  
 “ in great Numbers, you will be sure to  
 “ find Esteem, and never to want Provi-  
 “ sions; (for Victory carries with it a Right  
 “ to whatever belongs to the Conquer’d)  
 “ But, if you suffer yourselves to be di-  
 “ vided,

“ *μισθὸν τῆς σωτηρίας*. This appears to me far  
 preferable to *μισθὸν τῆς πορείας*; it not only makes  
 the Sense stronger, but seems to be the natural Result  
 of *σωζόμενος*, which immediately precedes it. I am  
 sorry to differ both from *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson*  
 upon this Occasion. *D’ Ablancourt* has said *de recevoir*  
*recompense pour retourner en v6tre païs*; which gives the  
 Sense, but not the Beauty of the Greek Expression.



BOOK “ vided, and the Army to be broken into  
 V. “ small Bodies, you will neither be able to  
 “ find Subsistence, or have Reason to be  
 “ pleased with your Treatment. My Opi-  
 “ nion therefore is the same with yours,  
 “ that we ought to go on to *Greece*: And  
 “ farther, if any one stays behind, or is  
 “ taken endeavouring to desert his Com-  
 “ panions before the whole Army arrives  
 “ in a Place of Safety, that he be punish’d  
 “ as an Offender. And whoever is of this  
 “ Opinion, let him hold up his Hand.”  
 And they all held up their Hands.

HOWEVER *Silanus* cried out, and endeavour’d to shew that every one ought to be at Liberty to go away. This the Soldiers would not bear; but threaten’d him, if they took him endeavouring to make his Escape, to inflict the Punishment on him. After this, when the Inhabitants of *Hera-clea* were inform’d that the *Greeks* had resolv’d to sail out of the *Euxine* Sea, and that *Xenophon* himself had <sup>36</sup> put the Question, they sent the Ships, but disappointed *Timasion* and *Thorax* of the Money they had promis’d them to pay the Soldiers. Here-  
 upon

<sup>36</sup> ΕΠΕΨΑΦΙΩΣ. See the 4<sup>th</sup> Annotation on this Book.

upon those who undertook for it, were con- Book  
 founded, and afraid of the Army; and, tak- V.  
 ing with them the rest of the Generals, who  
 were privy to their former Designs, (these  
 were all, except *Neon* the *Asinian*, who com-  
 manded under *Cheirisophus*, then absent)  
 they came to *Xenophon*, and told him they  
 were sorry for what had pass'd, and thought  
 the best Thing they could do, since they  
 had Ships, was to sail to the River *Phasis*,  
 and possess themselves of the Country be-  
 longing to the *Phasians*; of whom the Son  
 of *Aetes* was, at that Time, King. *Xenophon*  
 made Answer that he would mention no-  
 thing of this Kind to the Army: " But,  
 " says he, do you assemble them, and, if  
 " you think fit, propose it." Upon this,  
*Timasion* the *Dardanian* gave his Opinion  
 that they ought not to call the Soldiers to-  
 gether; but that each of the Generals should  
 first endeavour to persuade his own Captains  
 to come into it. So they departed to put  
 this in Execution.

IN the mean Time the Soldiers were in-  
 form'd of what was in Agitation: and *Neon*  
 told them that *Xenophon*, having prevail'd  
 upon the rest of the Generals, design'd to  
 deceive

BOOK V deceive the Army, and carry them back to the *Phasis*. The Soldiers hearing this, resented it, and holding Assemblies, and private Meetings among themselves, gave great Reason to apprehend they would break out into the same Violences they had committed upon the Persons of the Heralds of the *Colchians*, and the Commissaries of Provisions, all of whom they had ston'd to Death, except those who escap'd to the Sea. As soon as *Xenophon* perceived this, he resolv'd immediately to call the Army together, and not suffer them to meet of their own Accord: So he order'd the Cryer to assemble them: They readily obeyed the Summons. Then *Xenophon*, without accusing the other Generals of coming to him privately, spoke to them in the following Manner.

“ I am inform'd, Gentlemen! that some  
 “ People accuse me of a Design to deceive  
 “ you, and carry you to the *Phasis*. Hear  
 “ me therefore, for Heaven's Sake, and, if  
 “ I appear guilty, I do not desire to depart  
 “ hence, before I receive the Punishment  
 “ that is due to my Crime: But, if you  
 “ find they accuse me wrongfully, I hope  
 “ you will treat them as they deserve. I  
 “ make

“ make no Doubt, but you all know in Book  
 “ what Quarter the Sun rises, and where it <sup>V.</sup>  
 “ sets; and that the Way to *Greece* lies West-  
 “ ward, That to the *Barbarians*, Eastward.  
 “ Is there any one therefore who can make  
 “ you believe that the Sun rises where it sets,  
 “ and sets where it rises? You are also sensi-  
 “ ble that the North Wind carries you out of  
 “ the *Euxine* Sea to *Greece*, and the South  
 “ to the *Phasis*; and when the Wind is in  
 “ the North, you always say it is fair for  
 “ *Greece*. Can any one therefore so far  
 “ impose upon you, as to persuade you to  
 “ go on Board when the Wind is in the  
 “ South? But suppose I embark you in a  
 “ Calm: I shall however sail but in one  
 “ Ship, while you sail, at least, in a hun-  
 “ dred. How therefore can I either com-  
 “ pel you to keep me company against your  
 “ Consent, or deceive you with Regard  
 “ to the Place to which I carry you? But,  
 “ let us further suppose that I do deceive you,  
 “ and, by some magick Art, carry you to  
 “ the *Phasis*, and also that we land there:  
 “ You will soon be sensible that you are  
 “ not in *Greece*; and I, who have deceiv’d  
 “ you shall be but one Man, while you,  
 “ who have been deceiv’d by me, will be near

“ ten.

BOOK “ tenthousand with your Arms in your Hands.

V. “ By what Means therefore can one Man  
 “ court Punishment more effectually, than by  
 “ forming Designs so prejudicial both to him-  
 “ self, and you? But these Rumors are spread  
 “ by weak Men, who envy me because I am  
 “ honour’d by you; though without Reason:  
 “ For which of them do I hinder from pro-  
 “ posing any Thing for your Advantage, if  
 “ he can, from fighting both for you or  
 “ himself, if he is willing, or from watch-  
 “ ing for your Safety, if he is dispos’d to un-  
 “ dertake that Care. Why should I hinder  
 “ them? When you chuse your Comman-  
 “ ders do I oppose the Pretensions of any  
 “ Person? I <sup>17</sup> resign; let him take the  
 “ Command: Only let him make it appear  
 “ he can do something for your Advantage.  
 “ But I have said enough of this. If any of  
 “ you thinks himself in Danger of being de-  
 “ ceiv’d, or that any other Person has de-  
 “ ceiv’d him in this, let him declare it. But  
 “ since you have heard enough of this Subject,  
 “ I desire you would not depart ’till I have  
 “ acquainted you with a Thing, that I find  
 “ begins

Thucydi-  
des. 6 B.

<sup>17</sup> Παρίημι. *Nicias*, at the Close of one of his  
 Speeches to the *Athenians*, uses this Word in the same  
 Sense, with the Addition of ἀρχήν· ἐι δέ τῳ ἄλλῳ  
 δοκῇ, παρίημι αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχήν.

“ begins to shew itself in the Army; which,  
 “ if it makes any Progress, and becomes  
 “ what it threatens to be, it is high Time  
 “ for us to take proper Measures, that we  
 “ may not appear both to Gods, and Men, to  
 “ Friends, and Enemies, the most abandon’d,  
 “ and most infamous of all Men, and con-  
 “ sequently incur a general Contempt.”  
 The Soldiers, hearing this, wonder’d what it  
 might be, and desir’d him to go on: so he  
 resum’d his Discourse. “ You know there  
 “ were some Towns upon the Mountains  
 “ belonging to those *Barbarians*, who were  
 “ in Alliance with the Inhabitants of *Cera-*  
 “ *zunt*; from whence some of the People  
 “ came down to us, and sold us Cattle, and  
 “ other Things. Some of you, I believe,  
 “ went into the nearest of these Towns, and,  
 “ after you had bought Provisions there, re-  
 “ turn’d to the Camp. *Cleatus* one of  
 “ the Captains, finding this Place both small,  
 “ and unguarded, because the Inhabitants  
 “ look’d upon themselves to be in Friend-  
 “ ship with us, march’d against them in the  
 “ Night, with a Design to plunder it, with-  
 “ out acquainting any of us with his Purpose.  
 “ For he determin’d, if he had made him-  
 “ self Master of the Place, to have return’d  
 “ no

BOOK “ no more to the Army ; but to have gone  
 V. “ on board the Ship, in which his Compa-  
 — “ nions were failing by the Coast, and, with  
 “ his Booty, to have escap’d out of the  
 “ *Euxine* Sea. And all this was concerted  
 “ between him and his Companions who  
 “ were on board, as I am now inform’d.  
 “ Calling therefore together as many as he  
 “ could prevail upon to follow him, he led  
 “ them against the Town. But the Day  
 “ surprizing them in their March, the Inha-  
 “ bitants got together, and defended them-  
 “ selves from their strong Places so well,  
 “ both with missive Weapons, and their  
 “ Swords, that *Clearatus* himself and seve-  
 “ ral others were slain : Part of them how-  
 “ ever escap’d to *Cerazunt*. This happen’d  
 “ the same Day we left *Cerazunt*, to march  
 “ hither. Some of those also, who were to  
 “ sail along the Coast, were still in that  
 “ City, having not as yet weigh’d Anchor.  
 “ After this, as the Inhabitants of *Cerazunt*  
 “ inform us, three of the Elders came  
 “ from the Town, desiring to be introduc’d  
 “ to the Assembly of the *Greeks* ; but, not  
 “ finding us, they told the Citizens of *Cera-*  
 “ *zunt*, they wonder’d what we meant by  
 “ attacking them. These assur’d them that  
 “ the

“ the Attempt was not countenanced by Book  
 “ publick Authority ; with which they were V.  
 “ very well satisfied, and resolved to sail  
 “ hither, in order to give us an Account  
 “ of what had pass’d, and to let us know  
 “ that they gave leave to those, who were  
 “ willing, to carry off the Dead and bury  
 “ them. It happen’d that some of the  
 “ *Greeks*, who had fled to *Cerazunt*, were  
 “ still there. These, perceiving whither the  
 “ *Barbarians* propos’d to go, had the Con-  
 “ fidence to throw Stones at them them-  
 “ selves, and to encourage others to do the  
 “ same. By this Means these Ambassadors,  
 “ being three in Number, were ston’d to  
 “ Death. After the Fact was committed,  
 “ some of the Inhabitants of *Cerazunt*,  
 “ came to the Generals, and inform’d us  
 “ of what had happen’d. These Proceed-  
 “ ings gave us great Concern, and we con-  
 “ sulted together with them, in what Man-  
 “ ner the *Greeks*, who were slain, might  
 “ be buried. While we were sitting in  
 “ Consultation without the Quarter of the  
 “ heavy-arm’d Men, on a sudden, we heard  
 “ a great Uproar, and People crying out  
 “ knock<sup>18</sup> them down, knock them down,  
 “ stone

<sup>18</sup> Παῖς, Παῖς, βάλλε, βάλλε. Literally attack  
 them both Sword in Hand and with missive Weapons ;  
 VOL. II. F *continues*



BOOK “ stone them, stone them; and immediately  
 V. “ we saw great Numbers running to those  
 “ who cried out, some with Stones in their  
 “ Hands, others taking them up. Upon  
 “ this the Inhabitants of *Cerazunt*, ” hav-  
 “ ing been Witnesses of what had happen’d  
 “ in their own Town, were frighten’d, and  
 “ ran to their Ships : Some of us also, I do  
 “ assure you, were not without Fear. For my  
 “ Part, I went directly up to them, and ask’d  
 “ them what the Matter was ? Some of those  
 “ I enquir’d of, knew nothing of it ; yet had  
 “ Stones in their Hands. At last meeting  
 “ with one, who did know, he told me that  
 “ the

*cominus eminusque incesse*, which I should think, might do as well as *cæde, cæde, feri, feri*, in the *Latin* Translators : I have consider’d the *Greeks* here as a Mob, which they were upon this Occasion, and have consequently made use of Terms very familiar to an *English* Mob in Tumults. For the same Reason I think *d’Ablancourt* has said very properly *tüe, tüe* : though I am very sensible that the *French* Troops use this Word when they pursue the Enemy, as they call it, *l’épée dans les reins*.

<sup>39</sup> Ως ἂν ἑωρακότες τὸ παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς πρᾶγμα. If the *Latin* Translators, by rendring this *ut qui Facinus apud se designatum etiam vidissent*, mean *perpetratum*, I think that Signification of the Word *designo* is too uncommon for a Translation ; but, if they mean it in the ordinary Acceptation of the Word, the Fact was not only *designatum*, but *commissum*; for what is said of the Fear of the Inhabitants of *Cerazunt*, visibly relates to the Outrage committed by the *Greeks* upon the Persons of the three Ambassadors, who were ston’d to Death in their Town. *D’Ablancourt* has, I think, said much better, *instruits parce qui s’étoit passé dans leur ville*.

“ the Commissaries of Provisions oppress’d Book  
 “ the Army in a most grievous manner. V.  
 “ While he was saying this, one of the Sol-  
 “ diers perceiv’d the Commissary *Zelarchus*  
 “ retiring towards the Sea, and cried out ;  
 “ the rest, hearing this, as if a wild Boar, or  
 “ a Stag had been rous’d, ran at him. The  
 “ Citizens of *Cerazunt*, seeing the Soldiers  
 “ making towards them, and thinking them-  
 “ selves aimed at, fled in all Haste, and ran  
 “ into the Sea. Some of our Men ran in af-  
 “ ter them, and those, who could not swim,  
 “ were drown’d. What do you think these  
 “ Men were afraid of? They had committed  
 “ no Crime ; they must imagine that some  
 “ Madness, like that of Dogs, had seiz’d  
 “ our Men. If these Things continue,  
 “ consider what will be the Condition of  
 “ the Army. You will not have it in  
 “ your Power, by a general Consent, to  
 “ make either War or Peace, as you see  
 “ convenient : But every private Man may  
 “ lead the Army upon whatever Enterprize  
 “ he pleases. And if, at any time, Ambassa-  
 “ dors come to you to sue for Peace, or  
 “ for any Thing else, any one may put them  
 “ to Death, and thereby prevent your being  
 “ inform’d of their Demands. The Con-

BOOK “ sequence of which will be, that those,  
 V. “ whom you, by a general Voice, appoint  
 { “ to command you, will be no longer re-  
 “ garded : But whoever crefts himself to  
 “ be your General, and pleafes to cry ftone  
 “ them, ftone them, may, if he finds the  
 “ fame Obedience that was lately given,  
 “ put to Death not only your Commander,  
 “ but any private Man, untried. Consider  
 “ what Services thefe self-elected Generals  
 “ have done for us. If *Zelarchus*, the  
 “ Commiffary, is guilty, he has, by failing  
 “ away, efcap’d Punifhment : If he is inno-  
 “ cent, he has left the Army from the Fear  
 “ of being unjuftly put to Death, without  
 “ Trial. Thofe who have fton’d the Am-  
 “ baffadors, have done you this Piece of  
 “ Service, they have made it unfafe for You  
 “ alone, of all the *Greeks*, to go to *Cera-*  
 “ *zunt* without a Force fufficient to pro-  
 “ tect you ; and not lefs fo even with <sup>40</sup> a  
 “ Herald to bring off your Dead, whom, be-  
 “ fore

<sup>40</sup> Σὺν κηρύκῳ. Κηρύκῳ or Κηρύκειον, for it is writ-  
 ten both ways, was the Caduceus, which Heralds carried  
 in their Hands, when they were fent, upon publick  
 Occafions, from one Army to another. It is particu-  
 larly defcrib’d by the *Greek* Scholiaft upon *Thucydides* ;  
 but fo many Bas-reliefs, and other Monuments of An-  
 tiquity, represent *Mercury* with his Caduceus in his  
 Hand,

“ fore this, the same Persons who kill’d Book  
 “ them, gave you leave to bury : For who V.  
 “ that had a Hand in killing Heralds, will  
 “ serve in that Capacity ? However, we have  
 “ desir’d the Citizens of *Cerazunt* to bury  
 “ them. If these Things are right, give  
 “ them a publick Sanction, that, as At-  
 “ tempts of this Kind are to be expected,  
 “ every Man may be upon his Guard, and  
 “ endeavour to pitch his Tent upon Places  
 “ of Advantage and Strength. But, if you  
 “ look upon them rather as the Actions of  
 “ wild Beasts, than of Men, consider how  
 “ to put a stop to them ? Otherwise, how,  
 “ in the Name of the Gods, shall we offer  
 “ Sacrifice with Chearfulness, if we are guilty  
 “ of Impiety ? Or how shall we fight with  
 “ our Enemies, if we kill one another ?  
 “ What City will receive us as Friends, when  
 “ they see us guilty of such Enormities ?  
 “ Who will bring Provisions to us, with any  
 “ Confidence, if we are found to offend  
 “ in Things of so great Moment ? As to  
 “ the Applause which we promised our-  
 F 3 “ selves

Hand, that I think it needless to translate what he says  
 of it. It is reported to have been a Present from *Apollo*  
 to *Mercury*, in exchange for the Harp, which Tradition *Diod. Sic.*  
 I find, by *Diodorus Siculus*, was deriv’d from the *Egypt-1 B.*  
*tians*.

BOOK “ selves with so much Confidence, who  
 V. “ will speak well of us if we dishonour  
 “ ourselves by such Actions? For I am well  
 “ assur’d that we should condemn others,  
 “ were they guilty of them.”

UPON this, they all rose up, and said the Authors of these Disorders should be punish’d; that it should be unlawful to begin such Enormities for the future, and that those who were guilty of it, should be put to Death. They then order’d that the Generals should bring them all to their Trial; where it should be enquir’d whether any Person had received any other Injury since the Death of *Cyrus*; and appointed the Captains to be the Judges. At the same Time, upon <sup>41</sup> *Xenophon’s* Motion,

<sup>41</sup> Παραινῶντ’ δὲ Ξενοφῶντ’ — ἔδοξε καὶ καθαίρειν τὸ σφάτευσμα. *Xenophon* seems to imitate *Agamemnon*, upon this Occasion, who, as *Homer* tells us, having at last sent *Chryseis* back to her Father with a Hecatomb, to appease the Anger of *Apollo*, orders the Greek Army to be purified, and it was purified accordingly;

Homer II.  
α.

Λαὸς δ’ Ἀτρείδης ἀπολυμαίνεσθαι ἄνωγεν,  
 Οἱ δ’ ἀπολυμαίναντο, καὶ εἰς ἄλα λύματ’ ἔβαλλον.

Thus translated by Mr. Pope,

*The Host to expiate, next the King prepares,  
 With pure Lustrations, and with solemn Prayers,  
 Wash’d by the briny Wave, the pious Train  
 Are cleans’d; and cast th’ Ablutions in the Main.*

There

tion; and the Concurrence of the Priests, Book  
it was resolv'd to purify the Army. And V.  
the Army was purified accordingly.

THEY farther decreed that the Generals themselves should be called to an Account for their past Conduct; and, upon their Trial, *Philesus* and *Xanthicles* were condemn'd in a Fine of twenty Mines, to the Amount of which Sum they had imbezelled <sup>42</sup> the Effects that had been taken out of the Ships, and committed to

their

There can be no doubt, as Mr. *Pope* has very properly observ'd from *Eustathius*, that λύματα is deriv'd from λῶ, which justifies him in the Use of the Word *Ab-lutions*, a Word much more decent than those made Use of, upon this Occasion, by all former Translators. It was a prevailing Opinion, it seems, among the Ancients, that the Water of the Sea had a sovereign Virtue in Expiations: It was from this Opinion that *Iphigenia* says in *Euripides*

Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακὰ.

*Iph. in*  
*Taur. 5.*  
*Æt. Sc. 1.*

<sup>42</sup> Τῶν Γαυλιτικῶν χρημάτων. The ancient Lexicons say that Γαῦλον signifies a certain Kind of Ship used by the *Phœnicians*, but I find Γαυλὸς in *Herodotus* for a *Phœnician Ship*, where he says that *Dionysius* in *Erato* of *Phocæa*—sail'd to *Phœnicia*, and, having sunk the Merchant Ships, and taken a great Booty, sail'd to *Sicily*, Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Φωκαεὺς—ἔπλεε εἰς Φοινίκην· γαυλὸς δὲ ἐνθαῦτα καταδύσας, καὶ χρήματα λαβὼν πολλὰ, ἔπλεε εἰς Σικελίην; so that γαυλικὰ χρήματα may, no doubt, signify the Freight of those Ships; but, in this Place, I imagine, it means the *Cargoes*

Book their Charge. *Sophanetus* was fined ten

V. Mines, for that, being chosen a Commander, he had neglected his Duty. Some accus'd *Xenophon*, complaining they had been beaten by him, and brought their Accusation against him for abusing them. Upon this *Xenophon* rising up, desir'd the first Person, who appear'd against him, to acquaint the Judges where he had been beaten. He answer'd, "where we were dying with Cold, " and there was Abundance of Snow." *Xenophon* replied: "If, during the Storm " you speak of, when we had no Victuals, " nor so much Wine as would serve us " to smell to; when many of us were " spent with Labour. and the Enemy at  
" our

of those Ships the *Greeks* had taken, which Cargoes our Author, in the Beginning of this Book, calls *αγώγυμα*; he also says, in the same Place, that the *Greeks*, having taken out the Cargoes of these Ships, appointed Guards to take Care of them. It is very probable that *Philesus* and *Xanthicles* might have the Command of these Guards, and consequently the Charge of these Effects, and that they might have imbezelled as much of them as amounted to twenty Mines; if the Reader will cast his Eye on the 53<sup>d</sup> Annotation upon the first Book, he will find that *χρήματα* is often made use of by the best Authors to signify *Effects*. There seems to be so great a Relation between this Passage, and that in the Beginning of this Book, that I cannot approve of *Pecuniam de Navigiis coactam* in *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson*, and much less of *du prix des Navires* in *d'Abblancourt*.

“ our Heels, if, in that Season I was abu-  
 “ five, I own myself more <sup>43</sup> vitious than  
 “ Affes, which, through Vitiousness, are  
 “ said to be insensible of Fatigue. How-  
 “ ever say, for what Reason you were beaten.  
 “ Did I demand any Thing of you, and  
 “ beat you, because you refus’d it? Did I  
 “ insist upon your restoring any Thing?  
 “ Was it in struggling to subdue you to my  
 “ Passion, or when I was drunk, that I  
 “ abus’d you?” And, upon his saying that  
 it was nothing of all this, *Xenophon* ask’d  
 him whether he belong’d to the heavy-arm’d  
 Men? He answer’d, no; If to the Targe-  
 teers; neither, says he: but I was driving a  
 Mule, at the Desire of my Comrades, being  
 a free Man. Upon this *Xenophon* called  
 him to Mind, and ask’d him, are you not  
 the Man, who carried the sick Person? The  
 same, says he, for you forc’d me to it, and  
 threw about the Baggage, that belong’d to  
 my Comrades. But, says *Xenophon*, in this  
 Manner I threw about their Baggage: I di-  
 stributed it to others to carry, with Orders  
 to return it to me: And having receiv’d  
 every

<sup>43</sup> Τῶν ὄνων ὑβριστικότερον εἶναι. Every Body  
 knows that Affes, and Mules, their Offspring, have  
 such an inbred Vitiousness, that no Fatigue can sub-  
 due it.



BOOK every Thing safe, I restor'd them to you,  
 V. after you had shewn me the Man I gave you  
 in Charge : But I desire, says he, you will  
 hear how this Matter was, for it is well  
 worth while.

“ ONE of the Men, being unable to con-  
 “ tinue his March, was left behind. This  
 “ Man I knew no otherwise than that he  
 “ belong'd to the Army ; however, I oblig'd  
 “ you to carry him, that he might not pe-  
 “ rish : For, as I remember, the Enemy were  
 “ at our Heels.” This the other con-  
 fess'd. “ Then, says *Xenophon*, after I had  
 “ order'd you to go before, I quickly over-  
 “ took you again, as I came up with the  
 “ Rear-Guard, and found you digging a  
 “ Pit, with a Design to bury the Man ;  
 “ and stopping, I commended you : But  
 “ the Man, drawing in his Leg, while we  
 “ stood by, all who were present, cried  
 “ out, that he was alive ; and you said what-  
 “ ever you thought fit, as I won't carry him,  
 “ Upon which I struck you, you say, and you  
 “ say true : For you seem'd to me to be sen-  
 “ sible the Man was alive.” But, says the  
 “ other, Did he die the less, after I shewed  
 “ him to you ?” “ We must all die, replies  
 “ *Xenophon*,

“ *Xenophon*, but are we for that Reason Book  
“ to be buried alive ?” At this they all cried V.  
out that he had not beaten him so much as  
he deserv’d. Then *Xenophon* desir’d the rest  
to inform the Judges for what Reason each  
of them had been beaten ; but they not ri-  
sing up, he spoke thus :

“ I own, Gentlemen ! that I have struck  
“ a great many of the Men for not keep-  
“ ing their Ranks. These ought to have  
“ been contented with being preserv’d by  
“ your Means, while you march’d in Order  
“ and fought where it was necessary ; but,  
“ instead of that, they wanted to leave their  
“ Ranks, and run before you for Plunder,  
“ that they might have the Advantage over  
“ you. Had we all done the same, we had  
“ all been destroyed. I own also that find-  
“ ing some overcome with Sloth, unwil-  
“ ling to rise, and ready to abandon them-  
“ selves to the Enemy, I struck them, and  
“ forc’d them to march. For, being myself  
“ once oblig’d, when it was excessive cold,  
“ to stay for some of the Men, who were  
“ getting their Baggage ready, and sitting,  
“ for a considerable Time, I found myself  
“ scarce able to rise and stretch out my  
“ Legs.

BOOK " Legs. Having therefore had the Expe-  
 V. " rience of this in myself, afterwards, when  
 " I saw any one sitting down, and indulg-  
 " ing his Sloth, I drove him before me ;  
 " for Motion and vigorous Efforts created  
 " Warmth and " Suppleness, while Sitting  
 " down and Rest, I observ'd, made the Blood  
 " to congeal, and the Toes to rot off :  
 " Which you are sensible was the Case of  
 " a great many. Others, who suffer'd them-  
 " selves to be left behind through Laziness,  
 " and, by that Means, hinder'd you, who  
 " were in the Van, and us, who were in  
 " the Rear, from advancing, I might pos-  
 " sibly strike with my Fist, that they might  
 " not be struck by the Spear of the Enemy.  
 " These therefore, who have been thus pre-  
 " serv'd, may, if they have suffer'd any un-  
 " just Treatment from me, now be reliev'd ;  
 " whereas,

5 B.  
 15 Od.

" Τυρότητα. Τυρότης, in this Place, is used by  
*Xenophon* in the same Sense in which the *Greeks* say  
 ὑγραὶ ἀγκάλαι, which *Horace* has finely translated in  
 that Ode, where he represents the false *Neara* holding  
 him in her Arms, while she swears Fidelity to him,

*Arctius atque hederâ procera astringitur Ilex,  
 Lentis adhærens Brachiis.*

And when our Author, in his Art of Horsemanship,  
 recommends a Colt that moves his Knees with free-  
 dom, he says τάγε μὴ γόνατα ἢ βαδίζων ὁ πῶλος  
 ὑγρῶς ἀάμπτη.

“ whereas, had they fallen under the Power Book  
 “ of the Enemy, what Relief could they V.  
 “ have had, though their Treatment had  
 “ been ever so grievous? I speak to you  
 “ in all Simplicity. If I have punish’d any  
 “ one for his own Good, I am willing to  
 “ submit to the same Chastisement that Pa-  
 “ rents receive from their Children, and  
 “ Masters from their Scholars. Physicians  
 “ also use Incisions and Causticks for the  
 “ Good of their Patients. If you imagine  
 “ I did these Things through Insolence, con-  
 “ sider with yourselves that now, with the  
 “ Assistance of the Gods, I entertain greater  
 “ Hopes and Confidence than at that Time,  
 “ and drink more Wine, yet strike no Man:  
 “ For I see you are now in a Calm. But,  
 “ when a Storm arises, and the Sea runs  
 “ high, don’t you find that the <sup>45</sup> Pilot, for  
 “ a Nod only, quarrels with those who are  
 “ at the Head of the Ship, and the Steers-  
 “ man with those at the Stern? Because,  
 “ upon those Occasions, the least Fault is  
 “ enough

<sup>45</sup> Πρωτεύς. Πρωτεύς in Greek, and *Proreta* in Latin, signify an Officer, whose Business it was to keep a look-out, as the Sailors call it, at the Head of the Ship. I am inform’d that we have no Term, in our naval Institution, that properly explains it; that of *Pilot*, the Gentlemen of the Navy tell me comes the nearest to it.

BOOK “ enough to ruin every Thing. You your-  
 V. “ selves then determin’d that their Chastise-  
 { “ ment was just ; for you were present with  
 “ Arms in your Hands, to assist them, if  
 “ you had thought proper, not with <sup>46</sup> Bil-  
 “ lets to give your Votes in their Behalf.  
 “ However, in reality, you neither assisted  
 “ them in escaping the Punishment due to  
 “ their Irregularity, or me in inflicting it.  
 “ Thus, by suffering their Insolence, you  
 “ have given a Sanction to their Remissness:  
 “ For I am of Opinion, if you observe, you  
 “ will find that those who were then most  
 “ remarkable for their Neglect of Duty,  
 “ are now so for their Insolence. An In-  
 “ stance of this you see in *Boiscus* the *Thef-*  
 “ *salian* Boxer : He then contended, under  
 “ pretence of Sickness, not to carry his  
 “ Shield, and now, I am inform’d, he has  
 “ stripp’d

<sup>46</sup>  $\Psi\tilde{\eta}\phi\upsilon\varsigma$ .  $\Psi\tilde{\eta}\phi\phi$  signifies literally a *Pebble* ; and, as the *Greeks* gave their Votes with these, their Votes came to be called  $\Psi\tilde{\eta}\phi\phi\iota$  ; this literally translated would not be intelligible to an *English* Reader, so that, it seems necessary to render it in such a Manner, as may relate to our Customs ; and, as every Person, who votes by Ballot, puts a Billet into the Ballot-box signifying his Sense of the Question ; I thought  $\Psi\tilde{\eta}\phi\phi\iota$  could not, upon this Occasion, be properly translated by any other Word than *Billets*. *D’Ablancourt* seems to have been sensible of the Difficulty of translating  $\Psi\tilde{\eta}\phi\phi\iota$  with Propriety, by his leaving it out.

“ stripp’d several of the Inhabitants of *Co-* Book  
*tyora*. If you are wise, therefore, your V.  
 “ Treatment of this Man will be the Re-  
 “ verse of that bestowed on Dogs; for  
 “ these, when they are curst, are tied up  
 “ in the Day-time, and let loose in the  
 “ Night: Whereas, if you do well, you will  
 “ tie him up in the Night, and let him  
 “ loose in the Day. I own, I am surpris’d  
 “ to find, that, if I have given Offence to  
 “ any of you, you call it to Mind, and pub-  
 “ lish it: But, if I have defended any from  
 “ the Cold, or from the Enemy, or re-  
 “ liev’d them, when they were sick, or in  
 “ Want, these Things are remember’d by  
 “ none you: If I have commended any  
 “ for a proper Behaviour, or honour’d  
 “ brave Men to the utmost of my Power,  
 “ these Things also are not remember’d:  
 “ Yet it is certain there is more Honesty,  
 “ Justice, Piety, and Pleasure in remem-  
 “ bring good, than ill Offices.”

UPON this the Assembly rose, and call’d  
 to Mind what was pass’d, so *Xenophon* was  
 “ acquitted, and all was well.

“ Περιέγνεται. Both the *Latin* Translators have  
 said *hic Exitus erat*: I have rather chosen to render  
 it

BOOK  
V.Thucydi-  
des, 1 B.

it in the same Sense, in which *Thucydides* uses the Word in the Speech of the *Corinthians* to the *Lacedaemonians*, where they tell them that, in the War between them and the *Athenians*, they often ow'd the *Advantages* they gain'd to the Oversight of the Enemy, rather than to the Assistance they receiv'd from the *Lacedaemonians*: καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰς Ἀθηναίους πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἤδη τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἀφ' ὑμῶν τιμωρίᾳ περιγεγενημένους. So that, I imagine, *Xenophon* means that, at his Trial, he *had the Advantage* over his Enemies, that is, he was acquitted.

*The End of the Fifth Book.*





T H E  
E X P E D I T I O N  
O F  
C Y R U S.

---

B O O K VI.

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**F**ROM this Time, some of the Book VI.  
*Greeks*, while they staid here, sub-  
 sisted themselves by the Provisions  
 they bought in the Market, and  
 others, by those they got in plundering the  
 Country of *Paphlagonia*. On the other Side,  
 the *Paphlagonians* lost no Opportunity of  
 robbing the Stragglers, and, in the Night-time,  
 endeavour'd to annoy those who were in-  
 camp'd in Places more advanc'd than the rest.

VOL. II.

G

These



BOOK These Proceedings increas'd the ill Blood  
 VI. that was between them. Upon this, *Corylas*,  
 who was at that Time Governour of *Paphlagonia*, sent Ambassadors to the *Greeks* in costly Robes, and well mounted, with Instructions to acquaint them that *Corylas* desir'd neither to do an Injury to the *Greeks*, or receive any from them. To this the Generals answer'd, that they would consider of it with the Army. In the mean Time, they entertain'd them with all Hospitality, and invited such of the Army as they judged most proper, then, having kill'd some of the Oxen, they had taken, and other Cattle, they gave them a handsome Entertainment, the Company lying ' on Beds made of Brushwood cover'd with Grass and Leaves, and drinking out of horn Cups which they found in the Country.

As soon as the Libations were over, and they had sung the Pæan, two *Thracians* first rose up, and danc'd with their Arms to the Sound of a Flute: They caper'd very high, and with great Agility; then made Use of their Swords. At last one of them struck the  
 other,

<sup>1</sup> Στιβάσιον. This is the Explication given by *He-sychius* and *Phavorinus* of στιβάς.

other, in ſuch a Manner that every one Book VI.  
 thought he had kill'd him, (but the Stroke  
 was given with Art) upon which the *Pa-*  
*phlagonians* cried out; and the other, having  
 deſpoil'd him of his Arms, went out <sup>2</sup> ſinging  
 a Song of Triumph in Honour of *Sitalces*:  
 then other *Thracians* carried off the Man as  
 if he had been dead, though indeed he was not  
 hurt. After this ſome <sup>3</sup> *Ænians* and *Mag-*  
*neſians* roſe up, and <sup>4</sup> danc'd in their Arms  
what

<sup>2</sup> Ἀδων Σιτάλκων. *Herodotus*, *Thucydides* and *Diodo-*  
*rus Siculus* ſpeak much in Commendation of *Sitalces* in Melpo-  
 King of *Thracia*, in whoſe Honour, no doubt, this <sup>Thucydi-</sup>  
 Song of Victory was compos'd by the *Thracians*; *Thu-*  
*cydides* tells us that he was ſlain in a Battle againſt the <sup>des, 2 B.</sup>  
*Triballians*, and that his Nephew *Seuthes* ſucceeded <sup>Diod. Sic.</sup>  
 him. As this happen'd the firſt Year of the 89<sup>th</sup> <sup>12 B.</sup>  
 Olympiad, that is, the eighth of the *Peloponneſian* War, <sup>Thucydi-</sup>  
 and only twenty Years before the Time of this Expe-  
 dition, it is poſſible this *Seuthes* may be the Prince in  
 whoſe Service the *Greeks* engag'd, as we ſhall find in  
 the ſeventh Book; though I am ſenſible that *Thucydides*  
 makes him the Son of *Sparadocus*, and *Xenophon* of  
*Maſades*.

<sup>3</sup> Αἰνιᾶνες ἢ Μάγνυτες. Poſſibly the firſt might  
 belong to *Ænea*, a Town, ſaid by *Dionyſus* of *Hali-* <sup>Dion.Hal.</sup>  
*carnaffus*, to have been built by *Æneas*, after the tak- <sup>1 B.</sup>  
 ing of *Troy*.

<sup>4</sup> Οἱ ὠρχεῖντο τὴν καρπαίαν καλεμένην ἐν τοῖς οἴπλοις.  
 The Pantomime Representation of the Ancients is ſo  
 often confounded, in Tranſlations of their Works into  
 modern Languages, with what is now called *Dancing*,  
 that I think myſelf oblig'd to explain my Senſe of  
 this Paſſage, in order to prevent my Tranſlation of it  
 from being thought to fall under the general Miſtake.

BOOK what they call the *Carpean* Dance; the Man-  
 VI. ner of which was as follows. One of them,  
 having

Lucian  
 περὶ ὁρ-  
 χήσεως.

It is certain that the *Greeks* and *Romans* had, besides their Tragedies and Comedies, a mute Pantomime Representation, which was called by the former ὁρχησις, and by the latter, *Saltatio*. This is that Representation, in Praise of which *Lucian* has written a particular Treatise: What he design'd for Praise, we may make Use of for Information. After having run through a Detail of the vast Knowledge an ὁρχηστής or Pantomime ought to be Master of, he says that, as his Profession consists in Imitation, and, as he undertakes to represent, by his Gestures, what the Chorus sings or recites, his chief Business is Perspicuity, to the End that none of his Actions may stand in need of an Explanation, but that the Spectators may, like the *Pythian* Oracle, understand the Pantomime though mute, and hear him though he does not speak. By the way, the *Greek* Verse attributed to the *Pythian* Oracle, to which *Lucian* alludes, is preserv'd by *Plutarch*,

Καὶ καὶ οὐ συνίημι καὶ ἔλαλέοντ' αἰνέω.

Upon this Occasion *Lucian* tells a Story of a famous Pantomime in *Nero's* Time, who, to shew the Excellence of his Art to *Demetrius* the *Cynick*, commanded the Musick, and even the Chorus to be silent, while he represented by himself (ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ὁρχήσατο) the Amour of *Venus* and *Mars*, the *Sun* giving Information, and *Vulcan* catching them both in a Net, the Gods standing by, *Venus* blushing, and *Mars* trembling and asking Forgiveness; *Lucian* adds, that *Demetrius* was so well pleas'd with the Performance, that he cried out, *I not only see, but hear what you represent, for you seem even to speak with your Hands*. The Reader will pardon this short Dissertation upon an Art, which is so far lost that it is thought by many never to have existed. *Lucian* applies the Word ὁρχάμεν with great Humour to the unfortunate Companion of his Captivity and


having laid down his Arms, sows, and drives Book VI.  
a Yoke of Oxen, looking often behind him, as if he were afraid: Then a Robber approaches, whom the other perceiving, he catches up his Arms, and, advancing, fights with him, in Defence of his Oxen, (and all this these Men perform'd in Time to the Flute.) At last, the Robber binds the Plowman, and carries him off with the Oxen. Sometimes, the Plowman overcomes the Robber, and, fastening him to the Oxen, ties his Hands behind him, and so drives him away.

G 3

AFTER

and his Labour, as he calls him, τὸν ἄθλιον κοινῶν καὶ τῆς ἀιχμαλωσίας, καὶ τῆς ἀχθοφορίας, I mean the poor Ass, that was thrown down the Precipice, upon which he says ὁ δὲ, ἀπῆει κάτω, τὸν θάνατον ὀρχόμενος, Lucian which I do not translate, because I cannot. The Dance here mention'd by Xenophon is, by Hesychius, called a Macedonian Dance; it is so particularly described by Xenophon, that I think I may venture to call it, after him, the Carpathian Dance, without translating the Word.

Μάχεται πρὸ τῷ ζεύγους. Both the Latin Translators have said *ante jugum dimicat*, which d' Ablancourt has follow'd; but, as πρὸ is very frequently used in the Sense I have given it, upon this Occasion, that is, for ὑπὲρ, I thought it more natural to say that the Husbandman fought with the Robber in Defence of his Oxen, than before them, particularly as the Oxen seem to be the Prize contended for; since, when the Robber gets the better, he drives away the Oxen; but, if there can be any doubt whether πρὸ is used in this Sense, the following Passage in Euripides will clear it up; it is in *Alceſtis*, where *Admetus* says to *Pheres*, Euripides in *Alceſtis* 3d Act.  
 Οὐκ ἠθέλησας, εἴδ' ἐτόλμησας θανεῖν  
 Τῷ σὺ πρὸ παιδός.

BOOK AFTER this *Mysus* enter'd with a Buck-  
 VI.  ler in each Hand, and danc'd sometimes, as if  
 he had been engaged with two Adversaries;  
 then us'd his Bucklers, as if engag'd with only  
 one; sometimes he <sup>6</sup> whirl'd round; then  
 threw himself head foremost and fell upon  
 his Feet, without parting with the Bucklers:  
 This made a fine sight. Last of all he danced  
 the *Persian* Dance, striking his Bucklers a-  
 gainst each other, and, in dancing, fell upon  
 his Knees, then sprung up again, and in all  
 this he kept Time to the Flute. He was suc-  
 ceeded by some *Mantineans* and other *Ar-*  
*cadians*, who, being dress'd in the handsomest  
 Armour they could provide, rose up, and ad-  
 vanc'd in Time to a Flute that played a Point  
 of War. They sung the Pæan, and danc'd  
 in the same Manner that is practis'd in solemn  
 Processions. The *Paphlagonians* were a-  
 maz'd to see all these Dances perform'd by  
 Men in Arms. Upon this *Mysus*, perceiv-

ing

<sup>6</sup> Τοτὲ δὲ ἰδινεῖτο καὶ ἐξεκυβίσ-α. Homer tells us that  
*Vulcan* represented two Dancers performing a Dance of  
 this Kind upon *Achilles's* Shield,

Homer II.  
 Σ.

—δοῖω δὲ κυβιστῆρε κατ' αἰτὰς;  
 Μολπῆς ἐξέρχοντες ἰδινεῖου κατὰ μέτρος.

Tourne-  
 fort 14  
 Letter.

And *Tournefort* says that the *Turkish* Dervises preserve  
 this Kind of Dancing, which they make a religious  
 Ceremony; and that, upon a Signal from their Supe-  
 rior, they turn round with an amazing Velocity.

ing their Astonishment, prevail'd upon one of the *Arcadians*, who had a Woman Dancer, to let him bring her in; which he did accordingly, after he had dress'd her in the handsomest Manner he was able, and given her a light Buckler. She danc'd the *Pyrrhick* Dance with great Agility: Upon which there was great clapping; and the *Paphlagonians* ask'd whether the Women also charg'd with their Troops. The others answer'd, that it was they, who drove the King out of their Camp. This was the End of that Night's Entertainment.

THE next Day the Generals brought the Ambassadors to the Army: When the Soldiers came to a Resolution neither to do any Injury to the *Paphlagonians*, or suffer any from them. After that the Ambassadors departed: And the *Greeks*, finding they had as many Ships as they wanted, embark'd and sail'd with a fair Wind all that Day and the next Night, keeping *Paphlagonia* on their

G 4

left

<sup>7</sup> Πυρρίχην. This Dance is called by *Dionysius* of *Hefychius* *Halicarnassus* and *Hefychius* ἐν πλεῖστον ὀρχήσις, the first πυρρίχην - leaving it in doubt whether *Minerva* or the *Curetes* ζειν, were the Authors of it; and the second whether one *Dionysius* *Pyrrichus* a *Cretan*, or *Pyrrhus*, the Son of *Achilles*, <sup>7</sup> B. was the Inventor of it.

BOOK left Hand : and the Day after they arriv'd at  
 VI. *Sinope*, and anchor'd in <sup>8</sup> *Harmene*, one of its  
 Ports.

Strabo, 12 B. <sup>8</sup> Ἀρμένιον. Both *Strabo* and *Arrian* make mention of *Armene* or *Harmene* as a Sea-port belonging to *Sinope*, from which the former says it was distant fifty Stadia, and the latter only forty. *Herodotus* says that the *Cimmerians* flying from the *Scythians* into *Asia*, built a Town upon the Peninsula where *Sinope*, a *Greek* City, now stands. But we find by *Strabo* that the Inhabitants of *Sinope* look'd upon *Autolycus*, one of the *Argonauts*, to be their Founder, whose Statue, made by *Sthenis*, *Lucullus* carried away, when he took the Town : The same Author tells us, that the *Milesians*, observing the advantageous Situation of the Place, and the Weakness of the Inhabitants, sent a Colony thither. And, by the Account that Author gives of *Sinope*, no City could be more advantageously situated ; for he says it stood upon the Isthmus, that join'd the Peninsula to the main Land, having on each Side a Sea-port, where great Quantities of the Tunny Fish were taken as they swam along the *Asiatick* Coast, from the *Palus Maëotis*, where they are bred, to the *Bosphorus*. He adds, that the Peninsula was surrounded with sharp Rocks, which made the Access to it very difficult, that the Land above the Town was very fertile, and dispos'd into Gardens ; and that the City was well built, and adorn'd with a Place of Exercise, a Market, and magnificent Porticos. This Account both of the Situation of *Sinope*, and of the Country round it, is confirm'd by *Tournefort*, who was there himself ; and, in the Relation he gives of it, is grievously out of Humour with the modern Geographers for taking no Notice either of the Peninsula, or of the Sea-ports lying on each Side of it. *Sinope* is famous for having given Birth to two considerable Men of very different Characters, *Diogenes* the *Cynick* Philosopher, and the great *Mithridates*. *Strabo* says it was in his Time, (that is, in the Reign of *Augustus*) a *Roman* Colony. I can't part with this Subject without taking Notice that *Sinope* furnish'd the ancient Painters with a red Earth, which

Tournefort, 17 Letter.

Ports. *Sinope* is situated in *Paphlagonia*; Book VI.  
 it is a Colony of the *Milesians*. The In-  
 habitants sent the *Greeks*, as a Mark of Hos-  
 pitality, three thousand <sup>9</sup> Medimni of Flower,  
 and fifteen hundred <sup>10</sup> Ceramìa of Wine.  
 Hither *Cheirisophus* came with some Gallies.  
 The Soldiers expected he would bring them  
 something: However he brought nothing,  
 but gave them an Account that both *A-*  
*naxibius* the Admiral, and the rest of the  
*Lacedæmonians* celebrated their Praise, and  
 that the former promis'd them, if they would  
 come

which was one of the four Colours, with which alone,  
*Pliny* tells us, *Apelles*, *Echion*, *Melanthius*, *Nicomachus* Plin. N.H. 35 B.c. 32.  
 painted those immortal Works; *quatuor coloribus solis*  
*Immortalia illa Opera fecere: ex Albis Melino, ex Silaciis*  
*Attico, ex Rubris Sinopide Pontica, ex nigris Atramento,*  
*Apelles, Echion, Melanthius, Nicomachus.*

<sup>9</sup> Μεδίμνος. Μεδίμνος — μέτρον ἐστὶ ξηρῶν, οἷον πυ-  
 ρῶν ἢ κριθῶν· ἔχει δὲ χοῖνικας ὀκτὼ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα.

*Harpocration*. So that the Medimnus was a dry Mea-  
 sure containing 48 Chænixes, each of which *Arbuth-*  
*not* makes equal to an *English* Pint: but then he says *Weights*  
 a Medimnus contains four Pecks and six Pints, which *and Mea-*  
 is a Mistake; for if, as he says, 16 Pints make a Peck, *sures.*  
 it is plain that 48 Pints will make but three Pecks:  
 So that, in reality, a Medimnus is equal to three *Eng-*  
*lish* Pecks.

<sup>10</sup> Κεράμια. Κεράμιον, τὸ τῷ οἶνῳ ἢ ὕδατι σχυ-  
 νόν, *Hesychius*; and in another Place Κάδον, κε-  
 ράμιον. Now the Cadus *Arbuthnot* makes equal to the Id. ib.  
*Metretes*, which he says, contains ten Gallons two  
 Pints; so that Κεράμιον, upon these Authorities, will  
 be a liquid Measure containing ten Gallons two Pints.



BOOK come out of the *Euxine* Sea, they should  
VI. have Pay.

THE Soldiers staid five Days at *Harmene* : And looking upon themselves to be in the Neighbourhood of *Greece*, they were more desirous, than before, to carry some Booty home with them. <sup>11</sup> They thought, if they made Choice of one General, that single Person would find a readier Obedience from the Army both by Night and Day, than if the Command were vested in many ; where it was necessary for him to conceal his Designs, he would conceal them better, and where to prevent the Enemy, he would use greater Expedition, for there would then be no Need of Conferences, but whatever that single Person resolv'd upon, would be put in Execution. For hitherto in all Operations the Generals were govern'd by the Majority. While they

<sup>11</sup> Ηγήσαντο οὖν, εἰ ἓνα ἐλοινοτο ἄρχοντα μᾶλλον αὖ, ἢ πολυαρχίας ὕψους, δύνασθαι τὸν ἓνα χρηστὸν τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας· καὶ εἴ τι δεῖοι λαυθάνειν, μᾶλλον αὖ καὶ κρύπτεσθαι, καὶ εἴ τι αὖ δεῖοι φθάνειν, ἥτιον αὖ ὑπερῖζειν· ὃ γὰρ αὖ λόγων δεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ τὸ δόξαν τῷ ἐνὶ περσείνεσθαι αὖν. I have transcrib'd this whole Passage, that the Reader may see how dreadfully d' *Ablancourt* has mangled it ; these are his Words : *Les Soldats donc, pour mieux couvrir leur Entreprise, &c l'executer plus promptement, resolurent d'elire un General.*

they had these Things under Consideration, they cast their Eyes on *Xenophon*; and the Captains came to him and acquainted him with the Resolution of the Army: And each of them, expressing his Affection to him, endeavour'd to prevail upon him to undertake the Command. *Xenophon* was not averse to it, when he consider'd that he should, by this Means, increase both his Credit with his Friends, and his Reputation in his Country, and that possibly also, he might be the Cause of some Advantage to the Army.

Book  
VI.

THESE Considerations led him to desire to be Commander in Chief. On the other Side, when he reflected that future Events being conceal'd from all Mankind, he might, for that Reason, run a Hazard of losing the Glory he had already gain'd, he was in Suspence. While he was in this Doubt, he thought the best Thing he could do was to consult the Gods: In the Presence therefore of two Priests, he offer'd Sacrifice to <sup>12</sup> *Jupiter*

<sup>12</sup> Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ. *Harpocration* mentions two Por- Harpocration, Appellations; the first to *Jupiter* ἐλευθέρι, because Βασίλει- the People of *Athens*, as *Dydimus* says, were freed from εἰς. the *Persians* by his Assistance; the other to *Jupiter* Βασιλεύς.

BOOK *piter* the King, to whom he was directed by the  
 VI. Oracle of *Delphos* to address himself; and  
 whom he look'd upon to be the Author of the  
 Dream he had, when, together with the other  
 Generals, he was first appointed to take Charge  
 of the Army. He call'd to Mind also that,  
 when he left *Ephesus* in Order to be presented  
 to *Cyrus*,<sup>13</sup> an Eagle cried on his Right, sitting  
 however

Βασιλεύς. This Passage explains what our Author  
 mentions in the third Book, where he says the Oracle  
 of *Delphos* directed him to sacrifice to the proper Gods,  
 by which, we find here, he means *Jupiter* the King.

<sup>13</sup> Αἰτὸν ἀνεμιμήσκετο ἑαυτῷ δεξιόν. It was an old  
 Superstition among the *Greeks* to look upon all Appear-  
 ances, and particularly That of an Eagle on the right  
 Hand, as an Omen of Success. When *Telemachus*  
 takes his leave of *Menelaus*, *Homer* makes an Eagle  
 appear on his right, with a Goose in his Talons,

Homer  
 Odyf O.

Ὡς ἄρα οἱ ἐπόντι ἐπέπτατο δεξιὸς ὄρνις  
 Αἰετὸς, ἀργὴν χθῆνα φέρων οὐχέσσι πέλωρον,  
 Ἡμερον ἐξ αὐλῆς.

This Omen *Helen*, who was present, takes upon herself  
 to interpret, and says it signifies that *Ulysses* shall re-  
 turn and punish the Suitors, who, it seems, were re-  
 presented by the white Goose: By the way, *Homer*  
 makes *Helen* rather than *Menelaus* interpret this Omen,  
 possibly to avoid making the good Man indirectly re-  
 proach his Wife by this Interpretation; for *Menelaus*  
 seems to have forgotten or forgiven all that was past,  
 and they then lived very well together. It may be  
 ask'd why the *Greeks* look'd upon the Omens that ap-  
 peared on their right to be prosperous, and the *Romans*  
 on those that appear'd on their left to be so? This  
 Question, though, at first Sight, it may appear frivo-  
 lous, is of so great Consequence to the understanding  
 many

however on the Ground, which the Priest, who accompanied him, said was an Omen, that portended

BOOK  
VI.

many Passages both in the *Greek* and *Roman* Authors, that I really think it very well deserves to be discuss'd. The first Thing to be consider'd is, that the *Greeks* and *Romans* did not turn their Faces towards the same Quarter of the Heavens when they took their Stand in their augural Ceremonies, the former turning theirs to the North, and the latter theirs to the East. But this deserves something more than a bare Assertion. *Homer*, who is always a religious Observer of the Ceremonies of his Country, makes *Heſtor* reprimand *Polydamas* for advising him to attend to the Flight of Birds; and says, he cares not whether they fly to the right, that is, to the East, or to the left, that is, to the West,

— Τῶν δ' τι μετατρέπομ', ὅδ' ἀλεγιζώ,  
Εἰτ' ἐπὶ δεξι' ἴωσι πρὸς ἧν τ' ἡελίου τε,  
Εἰτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοίγε, πότεν ζόφον ἡερόεντα.

It may not, possibly, be so easily allowed that the *Romans*, upon these Occasions, turn'd their Faces towards the East; I say this, because I remember to have seen the contrary asserted by a very learned Man, I mean *Dacier*, in his Notes upon *Horace*; he there says, *ceux qui prenoient les Auspices, tournoient toujours le visage vers le midi*; and a little after he adds, *cela a été toujours observé de même par les Romains, sans qu'il y ait jamais eu aucun Changement*; & c'est une vérité si constante, que l'on ne sauroit expliquer ni concilier autrement tous les passages des Anciens, où il est parlé de ces matieres. Errors in Authors of little Merit are of little Consequence, but, when usher'd into the World under the Sanction of a Name deservedly famous for critical Learning, they are either taken for Truths, or, at best, pass uncontradicted. That this is an Error will appear, to a Demonstration, from the two following Passages of those two Oracles of the *Roman* History, *Livy*, and *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*: The first, speaking of the Inauguration of *Numa Pompilius*,

says

BOOK tended something great, and above a private  
 VI. Station, something illustrious, though toil-  
 some;

Livy, says *Augur ad lævam ejus, capite velato sedem cœpit,*  
 1 B. c. 18. *dextrâ manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens, quem li-*  
*tuum appellaverunt. Inde, ubi, prospere in urbem a-*  
*grumque capto, Deos precatus, regionem ob oriente ad oc-*  
*casum determinavit; dexteras ad meridiem partes, lævas*  
*ad septentrionem esse dixit.* In this Division then we  
 find the South was on his right Hand, and the North  
 on his left, consequently his Face was turn'd to the  
 East. *Diomysius of Halicarnassus* not only confirms  
 this, but gives several Reasons why the Augurs, upon  
 these Occasions, turn'd their Faces to the East. The  
 first is this, ὅτι καθέδρα μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ σάσις αἰρίσῃ τῶν  
 οἰωνοῖς μαντευομένων ἢ βλέψασα πρὸς ἀνατολὰς, ὅθεν  
 ἡλίου τε ἀναφοραὶ γίνονται καὶ σελήνης, καὶ ἀσέρων πλα-  
 νητῶν τε καὶ ἀπλανῶν ἥτε τῷ κόσμῳ περιφορὰ, δι' ἣν  
 τότε μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἅπαντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ γίνεται, τότε  
 δ' ὑπὸ γῆς, ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξαμένη τὴν ἐγκύκλιον ἀποδίδωσι  
 κίνησιν. This Reason, according to the System of  
 Astronomy then in Vogue, was a very plausible one,  
 that is, because the heavenly Bodies began their Mo-  
 tion from the East. To this I shall add the Reason  
 given by the same Author, why the *Romans* look'd  
 upon the Lightning that appear'd on the left Hand, as a  
 happy Omen; I mention this not only to confirm  
 what has been said, but also to shew that a Passage  
 in *Virgil*, which, like many others, is looked upon  
 as poetical, is, like them, merely historical. *Diomy-*  
 9 B. *sus* says that *Ascanius*, the Son of *Æneas*, being besieg'd  
 by the *Tuscans*, under *Mezentius*, and upon the Point  
 of making a Sally, prayed to *Jupiter*, and to the rest  
 of the Gods, to send him a happy Omen; upon  
 which, they say, the Sky being clear, it lighten'd on  
 his left. Now let us see what Use *Virgil* has made of  
 this Tradition; *Ascanius* is besieg'd by the *Rutulans*  
 and *Tuscans* commanded by *Turnus* and *Mezentius*;  
 he is insulted by *Remulus*, but, before he takes Revenge  
 of him, he prays to *Jupiter* to favour his *Coup d'essai*:  
 Upon

some; for other Birds attack the Eagle chiefly when she is sitting upon the Ground. He added that the Omen foretold nothing lucrative, because, when the Eagle preys, she is generally upon the Wing. While therefore he was offering Sacrifice upon this Occasion, the God plainly signified to him, that he ought neither to seek the Command, nor, if they chose him, to accept it: and this was the Issue of that Affair. However the Army assembled, and they all agreed to chuse a single Person

to

Upon this a Clap of Thunder was heard on the left, where the Sky was clear,

*Audiit, & Cæli genitor de parte serenâ  
Intonuit lævum.*

This is told almost in the same Words by the Greek Historian, *Φασιν αἰθρίας ὕστερ ἐν τῶν αἰσίων ἀσπράσαι τὸν ἥρατον.*

However, I desire I may not be understood as if I meant by this that *Virgil* took this Passage from *Dionysius*; I am very sensible that the Greek Historian speaks of the seven hundredth and forty-fifth Year, as of the Year then present, in the Preface to his History, *Claudius Nero* for the second Time, and *Calpurnius Piso* being Consuls; and that *Donatus* tells us, in his Life of *Virgil*, that, designing to return to *Rome* with *Augustus*, whom he met at *Athens*, as the latter was coming out of the East, he died at *Brundisium*, *Cn. Plautius* and *Qu. Lucretius* being Consuls. Now *Dion. Cassius* says, that *Augustus* went into the East in 54 B. the Spring of the Year, in which *M. Apuleius* and *P. Silius* were Consuls, which, in the *Fasti Consulares*, is the 733<sup>d</sup> of *Rome*, and that he return'd to *Rome* the next Year: All that I mean by what I have said is, that both the Poet and the Historian took the Passage from the History of *Rome*.

Book to command them : This therefore being de-  
 VI. termin'd; they propos'd him : When it was  
 { manifest they would chuse him, if any one  
 put the Question; he rose up, and spoke as  
 follows.

“ GENTLEMEN! as I am a Man, I take a  
 “ Pleasure in the Honour you design me, and  
 “ return you Thanks for it ; I also beseech  
 “ the Gods to give me an Opportunity of  
 “ being the Occasion of some Advantage to  
 “ you : But I cannot think it will be any  
 “ either to you or my self to give me the  
 “ Preference, when a *Lacedæmonian* is pre-  
 “ sent: On the contrary, if you should  
 “ want their Assistance in any Thing, you  
 “ will, by this Means, be the less intitled to  
 “ it. Neither do I look upon this as a Thing  
 “ altogether safe for me to engage in : For  
 “ I am sensible they never ceas'd making War  
 “ upon my Country, 'till they made the  
 “ whole City acknowledge, that the *Lace-*  
 “ *dæmonians* were the Masters of *Athens*, as  
 “ well as of the rest of *Greece* : However,  
 “ upon this Acknowledgement, they desisted,  
 “ and immediately rais'd the Siege of that  
 “ City. If therefore I, who am sensible of  
 “ this, should seem, where I have it in my  
 “ Power,

“ Power, to invalidate their Authority, I Book  
 “ have Reason to fear that I should very soon VI:  
 “ be taught my Duty. As to your Opinion,  
 “ that the Command of a single Person will  
 “ leave less Room for Contest, than That of  
 “ many, be assur’d that, if you chuse another;  
 “ you shall find I will not oppose him; for I  
 “ look upon it, that, in War, whoever opposes  
 “ his Commander, opposes his own Safety :  
 “ 14 Whereas, if you chuse me, I shall not  
 “ be surpriz’d, if you find others, who will  
 “ be offended both at you and me.”

AFTER he had said this, much greater Numbers than before rose up; and said, he ought to take upon him the Command: And *Agasias* the *Stymphalian* alledged it would be ridiculous to suppose what was mention’d to be true; because, at that rate, the *Lacedæmonians* might as well be angry, if, when they met to sup together, they did not chuse a *Lacedæmonian* for their President: For, says he, if that is the Case, neither ought we, it seems, to be Captains, because we are *Arcadians*. Upon this the Assembly shewed

by

14 Αν δ' ἐμὲ ἐλησθε, καὶ ἂν θαυμάζαιμοι εἴ τινα  
 ἔννοιετε καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀχθόμενον. D'Ablandcourt has  
 left out all this Sentence.



BOOK by their Murmur that they approv'd of what  
VI. he said.

*XENOPHON* seeing it was necessary to enforce what he had alledged, advanc'd, and went on. " But, Gentlemen! that you may  
" know all the Circumstances of this Affair,  
" I swear by all the Gods and Goddeses,  
" that, after I was acquainted with your  
" Resolution, I sought, by Sacrifice, to know  
" whether it were for your Advantage to  
" confer this Command upon me, and for  
" mine to accept it: And the Gods signified  
" to me, by the Victims, in so clear a Manner  
" that the most ignorant Man could not  
" mistake it, that I ought to decline the  
" Command." Upon this they chose *Cheirisophus*, who, after he was chosen, came forward, and said, " Be assured, Gentlemen!  
" I should have given you no Opposition, if  
" your Choice had fallen upon another. But  
" says he, you have done a Service to *Xenophon* by not chusing him, since *Demoxippus* has lately accus'd him to *Anaxibius*,  
" in the strongest Manner he was able,  
" though I endeavour'd all I could to silence  
" him. *Cheirisophus* added that he thought  
" *Anaxibius* would rather desire *Timasion* of  
" *Dardanus*,

“ *Dardanus*, who had serv’d under *Cle-archus*, for his Collegue; than himself, though he was a *Lacedæmonian*. But, says he, since you have made Choice of me I shall endeavour, on my Part, to do you all the Service in my Power. In the mean Time, be ready to sail to-morrow, if the Weather is favourable. *Heraclea* is the Port we must all endeavour to arrive at. When we are there, we will consider of what we have farther to do.”

BOOK  
VI.

THE next Day they weigh’d Anchor with a fair Wind, and sail’d two Days along the Coast: And, in their Passage, saw the \**Jasonian* Shore, where the Ship *Argo* is said to have come to Land; and the Mouths of several Rivers; first That of the *Thermodon*; then of the *Halys*; and, afterwards, That of the

Ιασωνίαν ἀκτὴν. As the last Annotation but one is very long, and the Dissertation upon the *Argonautick* Expedition has necessarily occasion’d this to be so; in Order to avoid breaking in upon the Text; I have been oblig’d to place it at the End of this Book.

<sup>15</sup> Τὸ Θερμώδοντι. This River, after it has receiv’d many others, runs through a Plain called *Thermiscyra*, formerly inhabited by the *Amazons*, and then falls into the *Euxine* Sea. Strabo, 11 B.

<sup>16</sup> Τὸ Ἀλυσι. This River, *Strabo* says, took its Name from the Beds of Salt through which it runs, ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλῶν ὅς καταβρεῖ; he adds that its Source is

BOOK the <sup>17</sup> *Parthenius*: And, having sail'd by the  
 VI. last, they arriv'd at <sup>18</sup> *Heraclea*, a Greek City,  
 and a Colony of the *Megaraeans*, situated in  
 the Country of the *Maryandenians*. They  
 came to an Anchor near to the Peninsula of  
*Acherusias*,

Arrian Pe- in the *Greater Cappadocia*; and, upon this Occasion,  
 riplus of Arrian blames *Herodotus* for saying it flows from the  
 the Euxine South, whereas it comes, as he says, from the East:  
 Sea. This River formerly parted the *Persian* and *Lydian*

Tourne- Fossil-Salt, that it is to be found in the high Roads,  
 fort, 17 and plowed Lands.

Letter. <sup>17</sup> Τὸ Παρθενίον. The *Parthenius* rises, according  
 to *Strabo*, in *Paphlagonia*, and derives its Name from  
 the chearful Meadows, through which it runs.

Strabo, <sup>18</sup> Εἰς Ἡράκλειον. *Heraclea* was anciently a City  
 12 B. of great Consideration, and in Alliance with *Rome*, 'till  
*Mithridates* made himself Master of it by corrupting  
*Lamachus*, one of their Magistrates, which furnish'd  
*Cotta*, who serv'd under *Lucullus*, with a Pretence both  
 of plundering it, and reducing it to Ashes, for which  
 he was deservedly censur'd at his Return to *Rome*. I

Strabo, find *Strabo* makes *Heraclea* to have been a Colony  
 12 B. of the *Milesiens*, but *Xenophon* seems to deserve most

Diod. Sic. Credit, since he is supported by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pau-*  
 14 B. *sanias*, and many other Authors of the best Note.

Pausanias, *Heraclea* was afterwards called by the modern *Greeks*,  
 1. Heliac. to whom it belong'd, *Penderachi*, and by the *Turks*,  
 Tourne- in whose Possession it now is, *Eregri*. There are  
 fort, 16 many Medals to be seen at this Day, formerly struck  
 Letter. by this City in Honour of the *Roman Emperors*, with  
 a *Hercules* on the Reverse, by which it appears  
 that he was the Patron of it; and, when *Cotta* took it,  
 there was a Statue of *Hercules* in the Market-Place,  
 with all his Attributes of Gold. But it must be ob-

Diod. Sic. served that this was the *Grecian*, not the *Egyptian Her-*  
 1 B. *cules*, from whom *Diodorus Siculus* observes the *Greeks*  
 borrowed most of the great Actions, which they  
 ascribed to their *Hercules*.

*Acherusias*, where *Hercules* is said to have descended to bring up *Cerberus*, and where they shew, at this Day, a Chasm, two Stadia in Depth, as a Monument of his Descent. The Inhabitants of *Heraclea* sent the *Greeks* three thousand Medimni of Barley-Meal, and two thousand Ceramia of Wine, as hospitable Presents, with twenty Oxen, and one hundred Sheep. Here the River *Lycus*, about two hundred Feet broad, runs through the Plain.

THE Soldiers being assembled, deliberated whether they should proceed the rest of the Way 'till they were out of the *Euxine*, by Land or by Sea; when *Lycon* of *Achaia* rising up, said, " I 'd wonder, Gentlemen! " at our Generals, for not endeavouring to " find Money for us to buy Provisions: For " the Presents we have receiv'd will not sub- " sist the Army three Days; neither is there " any Place, says he, from whence we can " supply ourselves. My Advice therefore is, " that we demand of the Inhabitants of *He-*

H 3

" *raclea*

<sup>19</sup> Θαυμάζω μὲν, ὃ ἄνδρες, τῶν στρατηγῶν. Θαυμάζω, ὅτε πρὸς γενικὴν συντάσσομεν, τὸ καταγινώσκω σημαίνει· πρὸς δὲ αἰτιατικὴν, τὸ ἐπαινῶ. *Suidas*.

BOOK “ *raclea* no less than three thousand <sup>20</sup> Cy-  
 VI. “ *zicenes*.” Another said a Month’s Pay, no  
 less than ten thousand: And that we ought to  
 chuse Ambassadors, and send them immediately to the Town while we were assembled, to the End we might know what answer they thought proper to return, and thereupon consider what Measures to take. Upon this they propos’d sending, as Ambassadors, first *Cheirisophus*, because they had chosen him for their General; and some nam’d *Xenophon*. But both these declin’d it absolutely; for they concurr’d in Opinion, that they ought not to constrain a *Greek* City, in Friendship with them, to supply them with any Thing against their Will. When they found these were unwilling to go, they sent *Lycon* of *Achaia*, *Callimachus* of *Parrhasie*, and *Agasias* of *Stymphalus*. These, going to the Town, inform’d the Inhabitants of the Resolutions of the Army: It was said *Lycon* even added Threats, if they did not comply with all their Demands. The Inhabitants, hearing this, said they would consider of it, and immediately remov’d all their <sup>21</sup> Effects

out

<sup>20</sup> Κυζικηνός. See the 34<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the fifth Book.

<sup>21</sup> Χρήματα. See the 53<sup>d</sup> Annotation upon the first Book.

out of the Country, and carried all their Provisions into the Town : At the same Time the Gates were shut, and Men in Arms appear'd upon the Walls.

BOOK  
VI.

HEREUPON the Authors of these Disturbances, accus'd the Generals of having defeated the Design : And the *Arcadians* and *Achaians* assembled together : (they were chiefly headed by *Callimachus* the *Parrhasian*, and *Lycon* the *Achaian*) They said it was a Shame that one *Athenian*, who had brought no Forces to the Army, should have the Command both of the *Peloponnesians* and *Lacedaemonians* : They said they had the Labour, and others the Profit ; which was the less to be suffer'd, because the Preservation of the Army was owing to them ; for they said the *Arcadians* and *Achaians* had preserv'd it, and that the rest of the Army was nothing : (and it was true the *Arcadians* and *Achaians* made above half the Army) If therefore they were wise, they ought to assemble, and, having chosen their own Generals, to march by themselves, and endeavour to get some Booty. This was resolv'd : And those *Arcadians* and *Achaians*, who serv'd under *Cheirisophus*, leaving him, and *Xenophon*,

BOOK join'd the rest, and chose their own Generals,  
 VI, to the Number of ten. These they voted  
 to execute whatever should be approv'd of  
 by the Majority. Here therefore ended  
 the Generalship of *Cheirisophus*, the sixth or  
 seventh Day after he was chosen.

*XENOPHON* was inclin'd to march  
 in their Company, looking upon that as  
 safer than for every one to travel by him-  
 self: But *Neon*, who had been inform'd by  
*Cheirisophus* that *Cleander*, the *Lacedæ-*  
*monian* <sup>22</sup> Governour of *Byzantium*, said  
 he would come to the Port of *Calpe* with  
 some Gallies, perswaded him to go by him-  
 self. He gave him this Advice, to the End  
 that none should partake of this Oppor-  
 tunity, but only they, with their own Sol-  
 diers, should go on Board the Gallies: And  
*Cheirisophus*, partly discourag'd at what had  
 happen'd, and partly through the Hatred he,  
 from that Time, conceiv'd against the Army,  
 permitted *Xenophon* to do as he thought fit.  
 The latter had some Thoughts also of leaving  
 that Part of the Army that remain'd with  
 him,

<sup>22</sup> Αρμοςής. Αρμοςαι, οἱ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς  
 τὰς ὑποκάτας πόλεις ἀρχοντες ἐκπεμπόμενοι. *Harprocr-*  
*ation.*

him, and of sailing away: But while he was offering Sacrifice to *Hercules* the Conductor, and consulting that God whether it were better for him to march on with the rest of the Soldiers, or to leave them, the God signified, by the Victims, that he should go on with them. By this Means the Army was divided into three Bodies: The first consisted of *Arcadians* and *Achaians*, being above four thousand five hundred in Number, all heavy-arm'd Men: The second of fourteen hundred heavy-arm'd Men, and seven hundred Targeteres belonging to *Cheirisophus*, the last being *Thracians*, who had serv'd under *Clearchus*: And the third of seventeen hundred heavy-arm'd Men, and three hundred Targeteers, who followed *Xenophon*; the Horse, which amounted to about forty, were solely commanded by him.

BOOK  
VI.

THE *Arcadians*, having furnish'd themselves with Ships from the Inhabitants of *Heraclea*, first set sail, that, by falling upon the *Bythinians* unawares, they might get the greater Booty. With this View they landed in the Port of *Calpe*, situated about  
the



BOOK the middle of <sup>23</sup> *Thrace*. *Cheirisophus*,  
 VI. leaving *Heraclea*, travell'd through the Coun-  
 try; but, when he arriv'd in *Thrace*, he kept  
 near the Sea: Because he was in an ill State  
 of Health; and *Xenophon*, having provided  
 himself with Ships, landed upon the Con-  
 fines of *Thrace* and of the Territory of *He-  
 raclea*, and, from thence, march'd through  
 the Middle of the Country.

IN what Manner therefore the General-  
 ship of *Cheirisophus* was abrogated, and the  
*Greek* Army divided, has been already re-  
 lated. The Actions of each of them were,  
 as follows. The *Arcadians*, landing by  
 Night at the Port of *Calpe*, march'd to the  
 next Villages, at the Distance of about fifty  
 Stadia from the Sea: When it was light,  
 each of their Generals led his own Division  
 to a Village, and, where any of the Villages  
 seem'd larger than the rest, they march'd in a  
 Body form'd of two Divisions: At the same  
 Time they fix'd upon a Hill where they were  
 all to re-assemble; and, as their Irruption was  
 unexpected,

Herodotus <sup>25</sup> Τῆς Θράκης. These are the *Thracians*, who, as  
 in Poly- *Herodotus* says, having settled in *Asia*, were called  
 hymnia. *Bithynians*; he adds, that they were driven out of  
*Thrace* by the *Teucrians*, and *Myrians*.

unexpected, they <sup>24</sup> took many Slaves be- Book  
sides great Numbers of Cattle. VI.

THE *Thracians*, who escap'd, got together; for, being Targeteers, many of them made their Escape from the *Greeks*, who were heavy-arm'd Men. Being now assembled in a Body, they first attack'd the Division commanded by *Smicres*, one of the *Arcadian* Generals, while he was upon his March to the Place of Rendezvous with a considerable Booty. For some Time the *Greeks* fought as they march'd; but, while they were passing a Valley, the *Thracians* put them to Flight, and kill'd *Smicres* with all his Men. They also defeated another Division commanded by *Hegesander* one of the ten Generals, eight only escaping, and, with them, *Hegesander* himself. The rest of the Generals came to the Place of Rendezvous, some with Difficulty, and others without any at all. The *Thracians*, after this Advantage, gave Notice to one another, and assembled, with great Resolution, in the Night: And as soon as it was Day, great Numbers

<sup>24</sup> Περιεβύλοντο. Περιβαλλόμενοι\* προσπορισά-  
μενοι\*. *Suidas*. *Phavorinus*. So that I can't think  
the Word *colligo* made Use of by both the *Latin* Trans-  
lators so proper upon this Occasion.

BOOK Numbers of Horſe and Targeteers were  
VI. drawn up round the Hill, upon which the  
~~~~~ *Greeks* were encamp'd; and their Numbers continually encreasing, they attack'd the heavy-arm'd Men with great Security: For the *Greeks* had neither Archers, Darters, or Horſe; while the others, advancing with their light-arm'd Men, and Horſe, lanc'd their Darts, and, when the *Greeks* offer'd to attack them, retreated with Eaſe; and affailing them in different Places, gave ſeveral Wounds, without receiving any: So that the *Greeks* could not ſtir from the Place, and were at laſt debar'd from Water by the *Thracians*. Being reduc'd to great Extremity, Terms of Accommodation were propos'd, and other Things were agreed upon; but the *Thracians* refus'd to give Hoſtages, which the *Greeks* inſiſted on. This put a Stop to the Treaty; and this was the Situation of the *Arcadians*.

IN the mean Time *Cheirisophus*, marching with Safety along the Coaſt, arriv'd at the Port of *Calpe*. While *Xenophon* was upon his March through the Middle of the Country, his Horſe, who were upon the Scout, met with ſome Ambaſſadors, who were travelling

travelling the Road. When they were brought to *Xenophon*, he ask'd them, whether they had any where heard of another *Greek Army*. These Men inform'd him of every Thing that had pass'd; that the *Greeks* were actually besieg'd upon a Hill, and that the whole Army of the *Thracians* had surrounded them on all Sides. Upon this he order'd the Men to be strictly guarded, that he might use them as Guides, where it was necessary; and having plac'd his Scouts, he assembled the Soldiers, and, spoke to them as follows.

BOOK  
VI.

“ Gentlemen! Part of the *Arcadians* are  
 “ slain, and the rest besieg'd upon a Hill. It  
 “ is my Opinion, that, if these are destroyed,  
 “ all Hopes of our own Safety are desperate,  
 “ the Enemy being so numerous, and so  
 “ much embolden'd by their Success. The  
 “ best Thing therefore we can do, is im-  
 “ mediately to march to their Relief; that  
 “ if they are still alive, we may have their  
 “ Assistance in Battle, rather than, by being  
 “ left alone, be alone expos'd to the Danger  
 “ of it. Let us therefore, for the present,  
 “ march on 'till Supper-Time, and then en-  
 “ camp; and, while we are upon our March,  
 “ let

BOOK “ let *Timasion*, with the Horse, advance be-  
 VI. “ fore, keeping us still in Sight, and recon-  
 “ noitre the Country, to prevent Surprise.”

At the same Time, he sent those of the light-arm'd Men, who were most prepar'd for Expedition, to the Sides and Tops of the Hills, with Orders, if they saw any Thing, to give Notice. He order'd them also to set Fire to every combustible Thing they met with. “ For, says he, we have no Place  
 “ to fly to: 'Tis a great Way back to *Hera-*  
 “ *clea*; a great Way through the Country  
 “ to *Chrysopolis*, and the Enemy is near at  
 “ Hand. Indeed, it is not far to the Port of  
 “ *Calpe*, where we conclude *Cheirisophus*  
 “ is arriv'd, if he has met with no Accident:  
 “ But, when we are there, we shall find  
 “ neither Ships to transport us, nor Provisions  
 “ to subsist us even for one Day: However,  
 “ if those who are besieg'd should perish, it  
 “ will be more disadvantageous for us to  
 “ hazard a Battle in Conjunction with the  
 “ Troops belonging to *Cheirisophus* only,  
 “ than, if they are preserv'd, to join all our  
 “ Forces, and make our Preservation a com-  
 “ mon Concern. But let us go with this  
 “ Resolution, either to die with Honour,  
 “ upon this Occasion, or perform the greatest

“ of

“ of all Actions in preserving so many Book  
 “ *Greeks*. Possibly God has ordain’d this VI.  
 “ with a Design of humbling those who  
 “ magnified their Prudence, as superior to  
 “ ours, and of rendring us, who derive all  
 “ our Hopes from the Gods, more renown’d  
 “ than they. Follow then your Leaders;  
 “ and be attentive to the Orders you receive;  
 “ that you may obey them.”

WHEN he had said this, he put himself at their Head. The Horse, spreading themselves over the Country, as far as was proper, set Fire to every Thing where they pass’d, and the Targeteers, marching abreast upon the Eminences, set Fire also to every Thing they found combustible, as did the Army also to what the others happen’d to leave : So that the whole Country seem’d in a Blaze, and the Army appear’d very numerous. When it was Time, they encamp’d on a Hill, and discover’d the Enemy’s Fires, from whom they were distant about forty Stadia : Upon this they made as many Fires as they could. But when they had supp’d, Orders were given that all the Fires should immediately be put out : And, having plac’d Guards, they went to sleep. The next Morning,

BOOK ing, by Break of Day, after they had invok'd  
 VI. the Gods, they put themselves in Order of  
 Battle, and march'd with all the Haste they  
 could. *Timasion* and the Horse, with the  
 Guides, advancing before the Army, found  
 themselves, before they were aware, upon  
 the Hill, where the *Greeks* had been besieg'd.  
 Here they saw neither Friends, nor Enemies;  
 (of which they gave Notice to *Xenophon* and  
 the Army) but only some old Men, and  
 Women, with a few Sheep, and Oxen, that  
 werè left behind. At first, they wonder'd  
 what the Matter was, but, afterwards, they  
 understood by the People, who were left,  
 that the *Thracians* went away, as soon as the  
 Evening came on; and the *Greeks* the next  
 Morning: But whither, they said, they could  
 not tell.

*XENOPHON*, and his Men, hearing  
 this, after they had eat their Breakfast, got  
 their Baggage ready, and march'd on, desiring  
 as soon as possible, to join the rest of the  
*Greeks* at the Port of *Calpe*. In their March,  
 they saw the Footing of the *Arcadians* and  
*Achaians* in the Road leading to *Calpe*; and,  
 when they overtook them, they were pleas'd  
 to see one another, and embrac'd like Bro-  
 thers:

thiers. The *Arcadians* ask'd *Xenophon's* Book  
Men why they had put out their Fires? for, VI.  
said they, we thought, at first, when we saw  
no more Fires, that you design'd to attack  
the Enemy in the Night: (and they, as we  
imagin'd, were apprehensive of this, and,  
for that Reason, went away, for they retir'd  
about that Time) But you not coming, and  
the Time wherein we expected you, being  
expir'd, we concluded, that, being inform'd of  
our Situation, you were terrified, and had  
retir'd to the Sea-side. Whereupon we re-  
solv'd not to be far behind you: And this  
was the Reason of our marching hither  
also.

THAT Day they encamp'd upon the Shore  
near the Port. This Place, which is called  
the Port of *Calpe*, is situated in the *Asiatick*  
*Thrace*. This *Thrace* begins at the Mouth  
of the *Euxine* Sea, and extends, on the right  
Hand, as far as *Heraclea*. To which Place  
from *Byzantium*<sup>25</sup>, it is as far as a Trireme

Galley

<sup>25</sup> Ημέρας πολλά μακρᾶς πλῆς. *Xenophon* has great  
Reason to say that it is a long Day's Work for a Gal-  
ley to go from *Byzantium* to *Heraclea*, since *Arrian*,  
in his *Periplus*, makes it 1670 Stadia, 870 of which he  
reckons from *Byzantium* to the Port of *Calpe*, which  
agrees very well with *Xenophon's* Account.



BOOK Galley can row in the longest Day. Between these two Cities there is no Town belonging either to the *Greeks*, or their Allies: But all the Coast is inhabited by *Thracians* or *Bithynians*: And whatever *Greeks* are thrown upon their Coast by Shipwrack, or, by any other Accident, fall into their Hands, they are said to abuse them in the most savage Manner. The Port of *Calpe* lies in the Mid-way between *Heraclea*, and *Byzantium*. A Promontory runs out into the Sea, of which that Part, which lies contiguous to it, is a craggy Rock, in Height, where it is lowest, not less than twenty Fathom. The Neck of Land, by which this Promontory is join'd to the Continent, is about four hundred Feet in Breadth; and the Space, within this Neck, is ample enough to afford Habitation for ten thousand Men. The Port lies under the Rock upon the western Shore; and, close to the Sea, flows a Spring plentifully supplied with fresh Water: This Spring is commanded by the Rock. This Place affords great Plenty of Timber, particularly That, which is proper for building Ships, in great Quantities, and in great Perfection close to the Sea. The Mountain that lies next the Port, reaches about

about twenty Stadia into the Mid-land: The Soil is a Mould, free from Stones; but that Part of it, which lies next the Sea, and extends above twenty Stadia, is covered with great Numbers of stately Trees of every Kind. The rest of the Country is pleasant and spacious, abounding with Villages well inhabited; for it produces Barley, Wheat, and all sorts of Legumens, Panick, Sesame, a sufficient Quantity of Figs, Vines in Abundance, yielding a sweet Wine, and every Thing else but Olive Trees. This is the Nature of the Country.

Book VI.

THE Soldiers encamp'd along the Shore: Had they enter'd into any of the Villages, they would not have quarter'd there; because they suspected they were drawn thither by the Artifice of some People, who were desirous to build a City there. For the greatest Part of them had not engag'd in this Service through Want, but induc'd by the Reputation of *Cyrus*, some even bringing Soldiers with them, who had spent their Fortunes, some having left their Fathers and Mothers, and others their Children with a Design to return, when they had acquir'd enough to enrich them; for they heard that

BOOK the other *Greeks*, who before serv'd under  
 VI. *Cyrus*, had made their Fortunes. This being  
 their Situation, they were desirous to return,  
 in Safety, to *Greece*.

THE Morning after the Junction of their Forces, *Xenophon* offer'd Sacrifice concerning their going out of the Camp; (for there was a Necessity to lead them out in Order to get Provisions) he also propos'd to bury the Dead. The Victims being favourable, the *Arcadians* also followed him, and they buried the greatest Part of the Dead, where each of them lay, (for their Bodies having lain five Days, there was no possibility of bringing them away) Some of them they remov'd out of the Roads, and, laying them in a Heap, buried them with all the Decency that their present Circumstances would admit of. As for those whose Bodies could not be found, they erected a large <sup>26</sup> Cenotaph, with

<sup>26</sup> ΚΕΝΟΤΑΦΙΟΝ: In the same Manner we find in  
 Thucydi- *Thucydides*, that the *Athenians*, in the Funeral of the  
 des, 2 B. first of their Countrymen, who were killed in the  
*Peloponnesian War*, besides a Coffin for every Tribe, carried also an empty one in Honour to the Memory of those, whose Bodies could not be found. *Virgil* has translated the Greek Word by *tumulus inanis* in the third Book, where he says *Andromache* had rais'd an empty Monument to the Manes of *Hector*,

*Manesque*

with a great funeral Pile, which they crown'd Book  
with Garlands. Having perform'd these VI.  
Things, they return'd to their Camp: And  
after they had supp'd, went to Rest. The  
next Day there was a general Meeting of the  
Soldiers, (they were chiefly assembled by  
*Agasias* of *Stymphalus*, one of the Cap-  
tains, and *Hieronimus* of *Elis*, a Captain  
also, and by the oldest *Arcadian* Officers) in  
which they came to this Resolution, that,  
for the future, whoever propos'd dividing  
the Army, should be punish'd with Death;  
that the Army should march in the same  
Disposition it was in before, and that the  
same Generals should command. *Cheiriso-*  
*phus* having lost his Life by a Medicine he  
took in a Fever, *Neon* the *Asinean* succeed-  
ed him.

AFTER this *Xenophon*, rising up, said,  
“ Gentlemen! it seems we are under a Ne-  
“ cessity both of travelling by Land, for  
“ we have no Ships, and of marching away  
“ immediately; for, if we stay, we shall want  
“ Provisions. We therefore shall offer Sa-  
“ crifice; in the mean Time, if, upon any  
“ other

I 3

*Manesque vocabat*

*Hectoreum ad tumulum; viridi quem cespite inanem,  
Et geminas, causam lacrimis, sacraverat aras.*


BOOK “ other Occasion, you were prepared to fight,  
 VI. “ prepare your selves for it now, for the  
 { “ Enemy have resum’d their Courage.” After  
 this, the Generals offer’d Sacrifice in the Pre-  
 sence of *Arexion* of *Arcadia*, the Priest: For  
*Silanus* of *Ambracia* had hired a Ship, and  
 made his Escape from *Heraclea*. But the  
 Victims they sacrific’d concerning their De-  
 parture, were not favourable: So they staid  
 there that Day; and some had the Con-  
 fidence to report, that *Xenophon*, being de-  
 sirous to build a City there, had prevail’d  
 upon the Priest to declare that the Victims  
 were not favourable to their Departure.  
 Upon this *Xenophon* order’d a Herald to  
 publish that any one, who was willing, might  
 be present at the Sacrifice the next Day, and  
 that, if there was any Priest among them, He  
 should also attend, and assist in inspecting  
 the Victims: He offer’d Sacrifice accord-  
 ingly in the Presence of great Numbers: And,  
 though Victims were three Times sacrific’d  
 concerning their Departure, still they were  
 not favourable. This gave the Soldiers great  
 Concern: For the Provisions they had  
 brought with them were all consum’d, and  
 there was no Market near.

HERE

HEREUPON they re-assembled, and *Xenophon* said, “Gentlemen! The Victims, you see, are not yet favourable to our Departure: At the same Time, I see you are in Want of Provisions; it is necessary, therefore, in my Opinion, to offer Sacrifice concerning This.” Upon which one of the Men, rising up, said, “It is with Reason the Victims do not favour our Departure, for a Ship coming in yesterday by Accident, I was inform’d that *Cleander*, the *Lacedæmonian* Governour of *Byzantium*, design’d to come hither from thence with Transports and Gallies.” Upon this they all concluded to stay for him: However, they could not avoid going out to get Provisions, concerning which he again offer’d Sacrifice three Times, and still the Victims were not favourable: The Soldiers now came to *Xenophon’s* Tent complaining they had no Provisions: But he told them he would not lead them out, while the Victims forbad it.

THE next Day he sacrific’d again, and, it being a general Concern, almost all the Army crouded round the Sacrifice: But the Victims fell short. Still the Generals did

BOOK not think fit to lead out the Army, however

VI.  they called them together: and *Xenophon* said, "Possibly the Enemy may be assembled  
" in a Body, and then we shall be under a  
" Necessity of Fighting: If therefore we leave  
" our Baggage in the Place of Strength, and  
" march out prepar'd to fight, it is possible the  
" Victims may be more favourable." The Soldiers, hearing this, cried out it was to no Purpose to lead them to the Place he mention'd, but that they ought immediately to offer Sacrifice. They had no Victims left: So they bought some Oxen out of a Cart, and sacrific'd them; and *Xenophon* begg'd of *Cleanor*, the *Arcadian*, to shew an Earnestness, if this Sacrifice promis'd any Thing. Notwithstanding this the Victims were not favourable.

HERE *Neon*, who had succeeded *Cherisophus*, seeing the Men oppress'd with Want, was desirous to gratify them, and, having found out a Man belonging to *Heraclea*, who said he was acquainted with some Villages in the Neighbourhood, where they might get Provisions, order'd Proclamation to be made that whoever was willing might go out to supply themselves, there being a Guide ready to conduct them. Upon this

two thousand Men went out of the Camp with Javelins, leather Bags, Sacks, and other Vessels. While they were in the Villages dispers'd in Plunder, some Horse, belonging to *Pharnabazus*, first fell upon them; These were come to the Assistance of the *Bithynians*, designing, jointly with them, to hinder, if possible, the *Greeks* from penetrating into *Phrygia*. This Body of Horse kill'd no less than five hundred of the *Greeks*: The Rest fled to a Mountain.

THE News of this Defeat was brought to the Camp by one of those who escap'd. *Xenophon*, since the Victims were not favourable that Day, taking an Ox out of one of the Carts (for there were no other Victims) sacrific'd it, and then went out to their Relief with all the Men who were not above fifty Years of Age; And, having brought off the rest, they return'd to the Camp. It was now near Sun-set, and the *Greeks* eat their Supper in great Consternation: When, on a sudden, some *Bithynians*, coming up through the Thickets, surpris'd the advanc'd Guard; and, killing some of them, pursu'd the rest to the Camp: And, the Alarm being given, all the *Greeks* ran to their Arms. But it

was



BOOK was not thought advisable to pursue the  
VI. Enemy, or leave their Camp in the Night;  
for the Country was full of Thickets: So  
they lay, that Night, upon their Arms, taking  
Care effectually to reinforce their Out-  
Guards.

IN this Manner they pass'd the Night. The next Day, as soon as it was light, the Generals led them to the Place of Strength, and the Army follow'd, with their Arms and Baggage; and, before Noon, they had dug a Trench quite cross the Neck of Land that leads to the Promontory, and fortified the whole Length of it with Palisades, leaving three Gates. In the mean Time a Ship arriv'd from *Heraclea* laden with Barley-meal, Cattle, and Wine. *Xenophon* rising early offer'd Sacrifice concerning an Expedition against the Enemy, and the first Victim was favourable. When the Sacrifice was near an End, *Arexion* of *Parrhasie*, the Priest, saw an Eagle on the favourable side, and called out to *Xenophon* to lead on. After the Men had pass'd the Trench, they stood to their Arms, and the Generals order'd Proclamation to be made, that the Soldiers, as soon as they had din'd, should march with their Arms, leaving

leaving those who had Care of the Baggage, Book  
and the Slaves behind. All the rest went out, VI.  
except *Neon*; for it was thought most ad-  
viseable to leave him to command those  
who remain'd in the Camp. But, when the  
Captains and Soldiers were about to leave  
them, they were asham'd to stay behind,  
while the rest march'd out; so they left only  
those, who were above five and forty Years  
of Age. These therefore staid in the Camp,  
and the rest march'd forward. Before they  
had gone fifteen Stadia, they came to the  
dead Bodies, and, <sup>27</sup> extending one of their  
Wings upon a single Line, where the first  
of them lay, they buried all those that  
fell within the Line. After they had bu-  
ried these as they march'd along, they  
form'd a Line of the other Wing, where the  
first of the Bodies lay unburied, and, in  
the same Manner, buried those that fell  
in their Way. And when they came to  
the

Ἦν ἔσαν τὰ κέρατ' ποιησαμένοι, κατὰ τὰς  
πρώτης Φανέντας νεκρῶς, ἔθαπτον πάντας ὁπόσους ἐπέ-  
λαμβάνε τὸ κέραν. I very much suspect that ἔσαν  
τὸ κέρατ' ποιήσασθαι signifies to extend one of the Wings  
of an Army upon a Line; but, as I do not find this Sense  
of the Expression supported by the Authority of any  
Author, or Lexicon, though I have consulted many,  
I only offer it as a Conjecture, and leave it to the Con-  
sideration of the Learned.

BOOK the Road, that led from the Villages, where  
 VI. the dead Bodies lay in Heaps, they brought  
 { them all together, and buried them.

IT being now past Noon, they march'd clear of the Villages, and, while the Men were employed in taking whatever Provisions they met with within Reach of the Line, on a sudden, they discover'd the Enemy marching over some Hills opposite to them. Their Army was dispos'd in a Line, and very numerous both in Horse and Foot: For *Spirithridates* and *Rathines* were there with the Forces they had receiv'd from *Pharnabazus*. As soon as the Enemy saw the *Greeks*, they halted at the Distance of about fifteen Stadia. Upon this, *Arexion*, the *Greek* Priest, immediately offer'd Sacrifice, and the very first Victim was favourable. Then *Xenophon* said to the Generals, " Gentlemen! It is my Opinion that we ought to place some Bodies  
 " of Reserve behind the Line of Battle, to  
 " sustain it, if necessary, and that the Enemy when disorder'd, they may be receiv'd  
 " by these Bodies of Reserve, that will be  
 " fresh and in Order." All this met with a general Approbation. " Do you therefore, continues he, advance against the  
 " Enemy,

“ Enemy, that, now we have seen them, BOOK  
 “ and been seen by them, we may not stand VL  
 “ still; and I will form the Bodies of Re-  
 “ serve in the Rear, in the manner you ap-  
 “ prove of, and follow you.”

UPON this the Generals advanced in Silence; and *Xenophon*, having separated from the main Body the three hindmost Ranks, consisting of about two hundred Men each, plac'd one, commanded by *Samolas* of *Achaia*, behind the right Wing, another, of which *Pyrias* of *Arcadia* had the Command, behind the Center, and the third, commanded by *Phrasias*, an *Athenian*, behind the left Wing; these had Orders to follow the Line of Battle at the Distance of about one hundred Feet: As they march'd on, those in the Front, coming to a Valley<sup>a</sup>, that was large, and

<sup>a</sup> *Επὶ νάπτι μεγάλῳ.* I cannot approve of the Word *saltus*, which both *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson* have made Use of, upon this Occasion, for *νάπτι*; I am very sensible that *νάπτι* signifies *saltus*, but I do not look upon That to be the Signification of the Word in this Place, because he tells us afterwards that there was a Bridge over this *νάπτι*, which I am sure is, in no Degree, applicable to *saltus*, particularly, since he calls it *νάπτι μέγα*, which Addition puts it out of all Doubt that *Boisage épais* in *d'Abzacourt* is improper, since *Boisage* is a Diminutive: I have called it a *Valley*,

BOOK and difficult to pass, halted, not knowing  
 VI. whether it were passable or not, and an Order  
 was given for all the Generals and Captains to come up to the Front. *Xenophon* wonder'd what should stop their March; but, as soon as he heard the Order, he rode up in all Haste. As soon as the Officers were got together, *Sophænetus*, the oldest of the Generals, said it <sup>29</sup> was not advisable to pass a Valley of such Difficulty: But *Xenophon*, answering with some earnestness, said,

“ You know, Gentlemen! that I never  
 “ willingly sought Dangers for you: Be-  
 “ cause I am sensible you want Safety, more  
 “ than Glory: But this is our present Situa-  
 “ tion. It is not possible for us to go hence  
 “ without fighting; for, if we do not engage  
 “ the Enemy, as soon as we offer to de-  
 “ part,

ley, in which I am supported by *Phavorinus*, who explains the Word in that Sense; *νάπ*⊙, ἡ κοιλότης τῆ ὁρύς.

<sup>29</sup> ΟΤΙ ἔκ ἀξιόν εἴη διαβαίνειν. I agree with *Hutchinson* that *Stephanus* and *Muretus* had no Reason to find Fault with this Reading; I go further: He calls it *satis sana Scriptura*, but I think the Phrase perfectly elegant, and of the same Turn with a Passage in *Demosthenes*, quoted by *Suidas*, διὰ γὰρ τὺτο μάλιστ' ἀξιόν ἐστι σιωπᾶν, ὅτ' ἔτ' ἐστὶν ὁ καταπλήσων, ἔθ' ὁ κκλάσων ἡμᾶς. Upon which Occasion *Suidas* explains the Word in this Manner; ἀξιόν· οἱ ῥήτορες ἐπὶ τῷ εὐλόγῳ καὶ δικάει ἐκλαμβάνουσι.

“ part, they will pursue us, and fall upon us  
 “ in our Retreat. Consider therefore with  
 “ your selves, whether it is better for us to  
 “ attack them with our Arms to cover us,  
 “ or to see them pursuing us, when we are  
 “ defenceless. You know also that there is  
 “ no Honour to be got by flying from an  
 “ Enemy, while even Cowards gain Courage  
 “ by pursuing: For which Reason I had  
 “ rather pursue with half the Number of  
 “ Forces, than retreat with twice as many.  
 “ Besides I am confident that you yourselves  
 “ do not <sup>so</sup> expect the Enemy will stand,  
 “ if we attack them; but we are all sensible  
 “ that, if we retire, they will have Courage  
 “ enough to follow us. However, to be on  
 “ the other Side, with a difficult Valley in  
 “ our

<sup>so</sup> Ελπίζετε. In this Sense *Thucydides* uses the Word in the Beginning of his History, where he says, *that he chose the Peloponnesian War for his Subject, because he expected it would be of more Importance than any before it*, ἐλπίσας μέγαν τε ἔσσεσθαι, καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων. Upon which the Greek Scholiast observes, τὸ ἐλπίσας, ἢ μόνον ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ, ἀλλ’ ἀπλῶς ἐπὶ τῇ τῷ μέλλοντι ἐκβάσει λέγεται. After the Example of the *Greeks*, the *Latins* also gave this Sense to the Word *spero*, as we find in *Virgil*, where *Dido*, in the Agony of her Mind, tells her Sister,

*Hunc Ego si potui tantum sperare Dolorem,  
 Et perferre, soror, potero.*

*Virgil,*  
 4 B.

BOOK “ our Rear when we engage, is not That an  
 VI. “ Advantage worth contending for? May  
 { “ the <sup>31</sup> Enemy find every Passage open to  
 “ their Flight! Whereas the Situation of  
 “ the Place ought to instruct us that we can  
 “ have no Hope of Safety, but in Victory. I  
 “ wonder any one should think this Valley  
 “ more dreadful than so many other Places  
 “ we have pass’d through. Shall we not find  
 “ this very Place, where we now are, difficult  
 “ to march over, if we do not overcome the  
 “ Horse? Will not the Mountains we have  
 “ travers’d be difficult to repass with such  
 “ Numbers of Targeteers at our Heels? But  
 “ admit even that we arrive at the Sea-Coast in  
 “ Safety, how <sup>32</sup> large a Valley is the *Euxine*  
 “ Sea?

<sup>31</sup> Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πολεμίοις ἔγωγε βυλοῖμην ἂν ἐν πορᾷ πάντα φαίνεσθαι, ὥς ἐ ἀποχωρεῖν. This soldierly With of *Xenophon* that the Enemy might have Hopes of Safety in a Retreat, while his own Men had none but in Victory, is thus disfigur’d by *d’Ablancourt*, *je voudrois que nous fussions si bien remparez de toutes Parts, qu’ils ne scussent pas par où nous attaquer, afin qu’ils se retirassent plutôt*.

<sup>32</sup> Πόσον τι νάπῳ ὁ Πόντος; Methinks this Expression should have convinced the *Latin* Translators that νάπῳ was not, upon this Occasion, to be translated by *saltus*; however, they have, I find, still adher’d to it, *Hutchinson* has said *quantus tandem saltus ipse Pontus est?* And *Leunclavius*, *quantus quæso saltus ipsum Pelagus Ponticum erit?* I expected *d’Ablancourt* would also have pursued his Translation, and have said, *quel Bocage fera le Pont Euxin?* But he has prudently avoided this Absurdity, by leaving out the whole Sentence.

“ Sea! Where we shall neither find Ships to  
 “ transport us, or, if we stay there, Provisions  
 “ to subsist us. And, if we make Haste thi- BOOK  
 “ ther, we must haste abroad again to get Pro- VI.  
 “ visions. We had better therefore fight  
 “ now we have eaten something, than to-  
 “ morrow, when we are fasting. Gentle-  
 “ men! the Sacrifices are favourable, the  
 “ Omens happy, and the Victims assure us  
 “ of Success. Let us go on. Since the E-  
 “ nemy have seen us all, they ought not to  
 “ eat their Supper with Satisfaction, or en-  
 “ camp where they please.”

UPON this the Captains bid him lead on, and no one contradicted it: He therefore put himself at their Head, and order'd every Man to pass the Valley in his Rank, for he thought it would be more expeditious for the Army to pass over in a Body, than if they sh'd off over the Bridge, that lay cross the Valley. After they had pass'd it, *Xenophon*, coming up to the foremost Ranks, said, “ Remember, Gentlemen!  
 “ how many Battles, with the Assistance of  
 “ the Gods you have gain'd, and what those  
 “ are to expect who turn their Backs upon  
 “ the Enemy. Consider also that we are at  
 VOL. II. K “ the



BOOK “ the Gates of *Greece*. Follow *Hercules*  
 VI. “ your Conductor, and exhort one another  
 { “ by Name. There is a Pleasure in reflecting  
 “ that whoever, upon this Occasion, says or  
 “ does any Thing brave and glorious, will  
 “ be remember’d by those whose Applause  
 “ he is ambitious of.”

THIS he said as he rode along the Ranks :  
 Then put himself at the Head of the Line of  
 Battle, and, having plac’d the Targeteers upon  
 the Wings, he march’d against the Enemy.  
 He had also order’d the heavy-arm’d Men to  
 carry their Pikes on their right Shoulders, till  
 the Trumpet sounded ; then to present them,  
 and move slowly on : And that none should  
 run, when they pursued. Upon this the  
 Word was given, JUPITER THE PRESER-  
 VER, AND HERCULES THE CONDUCTOR. The Enemy, encourag’d by the Ad-  
 vantage of their Post, stood their Ground ;  
 and, when our Men drew near, the *Greek*  
 Targeteers shouted, and ran on the before  
 they were order’d. The Enemy’s Horse, with  
 the Body of *Bithynians*, advanc’d against  
 them, and both together put the Targeteers  
 to Flight : But, when the Line of Battle,  
 consisting of the heavy-arm’d Men, march’d  
 briskly


briskly up to meet them, and, at the same Time, the Trumpet sounded, and the Men sung<sup>11</sup> the Pæan, then shouted, and presented their Pikes, they no longer stood their Ground, but fled. *Timastion* pursued them with the Horse, and his Men, being but few in Number, killed as many of them as they could. The Enemy's left Wing, which was opposite to the *Greek* Horse, was presently dispers'd: But the right, not being closely pursued, rallied upon a Hill. As soon as the *Greeks* saw them make a Stand, they thought the easiest and safest Thing they could do, was to charge them immediately. Accordingly, they sung the Pæan, and advanced directly: But the Enemy did not stand: The Targeteers pursued them 'till their right Wing was also dispers'd. However, few of them were killed, for the Enemy's Horse being very numerous, kept the *Greeks* in Awe. When our Men saw the Body of Horse belonging to *Pharnabazus* still unbroken, and the *Bithynian* Horse flocking to them, and observing, from a Hill, what was doing, though they were spent with Labour, yet they resolv'd to charge them also, as well

K 2

as

<sup>11</sup> Καὶ ᾠδὴν ᾤον. See the 126<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the first Book.

BOOK as they could, that they might give them no

VI.  Time to recover their Spirit, and Breath. So they form'd themselves, and march'd against them. Upon this, the Enemy's Horse fled down the Hill with as much Precipitation, as if they had been pursued by Horse: For there was a Valley to receive them, which the *Greeks* knew nothing of, because, as it was late, they had given over the Pursuit, before they came to it. Then, returning to the Place, where the first Action happen'd, they erected a Trophy, and came back to the Sea about Sun-set. For they had near sixty Stadia to their Camp.

AFTER this, the Enemy employed themselves in their own Concerns, removing their Families and <sup>34</sup> Effects to the greatest Distance they could. In the mean Time, the *Greeks* waited for the Arrival of *Cleander* with the Gallies, and Transports; and, going out every Day with their sumpter Horses, and Slaves, they furnish'd themselves, in all Security, with Wheat, Barley, Wine, Legumens, Panick, and Figs; for the Country produc'd every Thing but Oil. While the  
Army

<sup>34</sup> Τα χεήματα. See the 53<sup>d</sup> Annotation upon the first Book.

Army lay in their Camp to refresh themselves, the Men had Liberty to go out for Plunder; and, upon those Occasions the Booty was their own: But, when the whole Army went out, if any one straggled from the rest, and got any thing, they determin'd it should belong to the Publick. The Camp now abounded in all Things, for Provisions came from every Side out of the *Greek* Cities; and People, who sail'd along the Coast, being inform'd that a City was going to be built with a Haven, willingly put in there: And those of the Enemy, who liv'd in the Neighbourhood, sent to *Xenophon*, hearing he had the Conduct of the intended Settlement, to know what they should do to deserve his Friendship; and he shewed them to the Soldiers. In the mean Time, *Cleander* arriv'd with two Gallies, but no Transports. It happen'd that, when he came, the Army was gone out to get Provisions, and a Party of Stragglers, going up the Mountain in Search of Plunder, took a great Number of Sheep; but, being afraid they should be taken from them, they inform'd *Dexippus* of it, (the same who ran away, with the fifty Oar-Galley, from *Trebisond*) and desir'd him to secure the Sheep, agreeing that he

BOOK should retain some of them for his Pains, and  
 VI. restore the rest.

IMMEDIATELY *Dexippus* drove away the Soldiers, who stood round them, and told him the Sheep belong'd to the Publick; then went to *Cleander*, and inform'd him that they endeavour'd to take them away by Force. *Cleander* order'd him to bring the Man, who attempted it, before him. Upon that *Dexippus* seiz'd one of the Men, and was carrying him away, when *Agasias*, meeting him, rescued the Man; for he belong'd to his Company: And the rest of the Soldiers, who were present, threw Stones at *Dexippus*, calling him Traitor. This put not only him, but many of the Men also, who belong'd to the Gallies, in Fear, and made them fly to the Sea; and *Cleander* himself was among those who fled. Hereupon *Xenophon*, and the rest of the Generals endeavour'd to suppress the Tumult, and told *Cleander*, that there was no Danger, and that all this was occasion'd by the standing Order of the Army. But *Cleander*, being inflam'd by *Dexippus*, and himself nettled for having discover'd so much Fear, said he would sail away, and  
 cause

cause them to be proclaim'd Enemies, and that, as such, none of the *Greek* Cities should receive them : For the <sup>35</sup> *Lacedæmonians* were, at that Time, the Masters of all *Greece*. Book VI.

THE *Greeks* look'd upon this as an Affair of bad Consequence, and begg'd of him not to do it : But he said it could not be otherwise, unless they deliver'd up the Man, who began throwing Stones, together with the Person, who rescued him. This was *Agasias*, the constant Friend of *Xenophon* ; for which Reason *Dexippus* had accus'd him. In this Perplexity, the Commanders call'd the Army together, and some of them treated *Cleander*, as a Man of no Importance ; but *Xenophon* thought the Affair of no small Consequence, and, rising up, said,

" GENTLEMEN ! I look upon it as a  
" Matter of great Moment, if *Cleander* goes  
" away, as he threatens, in this Disposition ;  
" For we are now in the Neighbourhood  
" of the *Greek* Cities, and, as the *Lacedæ-*  
" *monians* preside over *Greece*, every single  
" *Lacedæmonian* can effect whatever he

K 4

" pleases

<sup>35</sup> *Ἐρχον δὲ τότε πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.* See the Introduction.

Book " pleases in these Cities. If therefore this  
 VI. " Man first shuts us out of *Byzantium* him-  
 " self, then gives Notice to the rest of the  
 " *Lacedæmonian* Governours, not to re-  
 " ceive us into their Cities, as Men refus-  
 " ing Obedience to the *Lacedæmonians*, and  
 " absolutely ungovernable, this Character  
 " of us will, at last, reach the Ears of *Anaxi-*  
 " *bis*, the Admiral; and then, it will be dif-  
 " ficult for us either to stay where we are, or  
 " to sail away: For, at this Time, the *La-*  
 " *cedæmonians* command both at Sea, and  
 " Land. We ought not therefore, for the  
 " Sake of one, or two Men, to exclude  
 " our selves from *Greece*, but to obey  
 " them in every Thing: For the Cities,  
 " to which we belong, obey them. As to  
 " my own Particular, (for I hear *Dex-*  
 " *ippus* tells *Cleander*, that *Agasias* had  
 " never done this, if I had not given him  
 " Orders) for my Part I say, I am ready to  
 " clear both you, and *Agasias* of this Accu-  
 " sation, if he will say that I was the Author  
 " of any of these Things, and to condemn  
 " my self, if I began throwing Stones, or  
 " any other Violence, to the last of Punish-  
 " ments, and will submit to it. My Advice  
 " also is, that, if *Cleander* should accuse any  
 " other

" other Person, he ought to surrender him- Book  
 " self to him to be tried : By this Means you VI.  
 " will be free from Censure. As things now  
 " stand, it will be hard, if we, who expect  
 " to meet with Applause, and Honour in  
 " *Greece*, should, instead of That, not even be  
 " in the same Condition with the rest of  
 " our Countrymen ; but be excluded from  
 " the *Greek Cities*."

AFTER this *Agasias* rose up, and said,  
 " Gentlemen ! I call the Gods, and Goddeses  
 " to witness, that, neither *Xenophon*, nor  
 " any other Person among you, order'd me  
 " to rescue the Man : But, seeing *Dexippus*  
 " (who you know, has betrayed you) carry-  
 " ing away a brave Man belonging to my  
 " Company, I thought it was not to be  
 " borne, and own I rescued him. Think  
 " not of delivering me up, for I will sur-  
 " render myself to *Cleander*, as *Xenophon*  
 " advises, to be tried by him, and used as  
 " he thinks fit. Let this be no Cause of  
 " War between you, and the *Lacedemo-*  
 " *nians* ; but, let every Man return, with  
 " Safety, to whatever Part of *Greece* he  
 " pleases. I only desire you will chuse  
 " some of your own Number, and send  
 " them



BOOK “ them, with me, to *Cleander*, that, if I  
 VI. “ omit any Thing, they may both speak,  
 “ and act in my Behalf.” Upon this, the  
 Army gave him leave to chuse such Persons  
 as he thought proper to accompany him :  
 And he chose the Generals. *Agasias*, and  
 the Generals accordingly went to *Cleander*,  
 together with the Man who had been rescued  
 by *Agasias* ; and the Generals spoke to *Cle-*  
*ander* in the following Manner.

“ THE Army has sent us to you, O *Cle-*  
*ander*! and desires, if you accuse them all,  
 “ that you will yourself pass Sentence upon  
 “ them all, and treat them as you think fit :  
 “ If one, or two, or more of them, they  
 “ have thought proper these should sur-  
 “ render themselves to you, and submit to  
 “ your Judgment. If therefore you accuse  
 “ any of us, here we are before you : If any  
 “ other, let us know it ; for no Man shall  
 “ refuse to submit to your Judgment, who  
 “ will submit to our Command.” After  
 this, *Agasias*, advancing, said, “ I am the Per-  
 “ son, O *Cleander* ! that rescued this Man,  
 “ whom *Dexippus* was carrying away, and  
 “ that gave Orders to our Men to strike  
 “ *Dexippus* ; for I knew the Soldier to be

“ a good Man, and that *Dexippus*, who Book  
 “ had been chosen by the Army to com- VI.  
 “ mand the Galley we begg’d of the In-  
 “ habitants of *Trebisond*, in Order to get  
 “ Ships together to transport us, had run  
 “ away with the Galley, and betrayed the  
 “ Soldiers, to whom he owed his Preserva-  
 “ tion. Thus, he is the Cause not only of  
 “ our having depriv’d the Inhabitants of *Tre-  
 “ bisond* of their Galley; but of our being  
 “ looked upon, as ill Men, and, as far as it lay  
 “ in his Power, of our Ruin: For he had  
 “ heard, as well as we, that, if we went by  
 “ Land, it was impossible for us to pass the  
 “ Rivers, that lay in our Way, and return  
 “ to *Greece*. Such is the Character of the  
 “ Person, from whom I rescued the Man. If  
 “ either you, or any one belonging to you,  
 “ had been carrying him away, and not one  
 “ of our own Deserters, be assur’d that I  
 “ should have attempted no such Thing.  
 “ Know then, that, if you put me to Death,  
 “ you will destroy a brave Man, for the  
 “ Sake of a Coward, and a Villain.”

*CLEANDER*, hearing this, said, he  
 could not approve of the Conduct of *Dex-  
 ippus*, if he had been guilty of these Things;

“ But,

BOOK " But, adds he, in my Opinion, though  
 VI. " *Dexippus* were the worst of Men, no  
 ~~~~~ " Violence should be offer'd to him, but  
 " that he ought to be tried, (in the Manner  
 " you yourselves propose) and punish'd, if  
 " guilty. As for you, leave *Agasias* with  
 " me, and depart; and, when I give you  
 " Notice, be present at his Trial. I neither  
 " accuse the Army, nor any other Person,  
 " since *Agasias* himself owns he rescued the  
 " Man." Upon this the Soldier, who had  
 been rescued, said, " Though you seem to  
 " think, O *Cleander*! that I was appre-  
 " hended, as an Offender, yet know that I  
 " neither struck any one, or threw Stones at  
 " any; I only said the Sheep belong'd to the  
 " Publick: For the Soldiers had made an  
 " Order that, when the whole Army went  
 " out, whatever Booty was taken by any  
 " particular Person, should belong to the  
 " Publick. This was all I said, and, for  
 " this, *Dexippus* seiz'd me with a Design  
 " to carry me away, that, every Man's  
 " Mouth being stopp'd, he might have his  
 " Share of the Booty, and secure the rest for  
 " his Accomplices, contrary to the <sup>36</sup> stand-  
 ing

<sup>36</sup> Παρὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. I have taken *παρὰ* here in  
 the same sense that *Plutarch* says *Lycurgus* used it when  
 he

“ ing Order of the Army.” To this *Cleander* answer’d, “ Since you are that Kind of Man, stay here, that we may consider what to do with you also.”

BOOK  
VI.

AFTER this, *Cleander*, and his Company went to Dinner : And *Xenophon*, assembling the Army, advis’d them to send some Persons to *Cleander* to intercede for the Men. Hercupon, they resolv’d to send the Generals; and Captains, together with *Dracontius*, the *Spartan*, and other proper Persons, to entreat *Cleander*, by all Means, to release them. As soon as *Xenophon* came to him, he said, “ The Men you demanded, O *Cleander* ! are in your Hands, and the Army makes you not only Master of their Fate, but of its own. However, they now conjure you to give up these two Men to them, and not to put them to Death ; because, upon all Occasions, both of them have taken great Pains to do Service to the Army. If they can

he called his Decrees by that Name : I am sensible that the Word also signifies an *Agreement*, but, as our Author calls the same Thing τῶν στρατιωτῶν δόγμα *Lives of* a few Lines before, I have chosen to give it that Sense here also. *Leunclavius* has said, very properly, *contra Edictum*, and *Hutchinson*, I think, not so well, *contra Pactum*. *D’Ablancourt* has, according to his Custom, when he meets with a Difficulty, left it out.

Plutarch  
in his  
Lives of  
Lycurgus  
and Agesilaus.

Book “ can prevail upon you in this, they pro-  
 VI. “ mise you, in Return, if you think fit to be  
 { “ their General, and the Gods are propi-  
 “ tious, to let you see both how observant  
 “ they are, and how incapable, while they  
 “ obey their Commander, and Heaven assists  
 “ them, of fearing an Enemy. They also  
 “ beg of you, that, when you are with them,  
 “ and have taken upon you the Command,  
 “ you will make Trial of *Demippus*, and  
 “ of themselves, and others, and then re-  
 “ ward each, according to his Merit.” *Cle-*  
*ander*, hearing this, said, “ By <sup>37</sup> *Castor* and  
 “ *Pollux*, I will return you an Answer im-  
 “ mediately: I not only give you up the  
 “ Men, but will come to you myself; and,  
 “ if the Gods are, in any Degree, favourable,  
 “ I will conduct you into *Greece*. Your  
 “ Discourse is very different from the Re-  
 “ ports I have heard of some of you, as if  
 “ you

*Aristoph.* <sup>37</sup> *Ναὶ μὰ τὸ Σιῶ.* This was an Oath much used  
*Εισ.* by the *Lacedæmonians*; by τὸ Σιῶ are meant the two  
*V. 213.* Brother-Gods, *Castor* and *Pollux*, as we find by what  
 the *Greek Scholiast* observes upon the following Passage  
 of *Aristophanes*, where *Mercury* says to *Trygæus*, in the  
*Lacedæmonian Style*,

*Ναὶ τὸ Σιῶ, νῦν Ἀττικῶν δώσει δίκην.*

Upon this the Scholiast says, Ἔτω τὸς Διοσκῶρες οἱ  
*Λακεδαιμόνιοι* Σιῶς ἔλεγον· ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι Θέες, Διὸς καὶ  
 Περσεφόνης.

“ you were endeavouring to render the Book  
 “ Army disaffected to the *Lacedæmonians*.” VI.

AFTER this, those who were sent by the Army, applauded him, and return'd with the two Men. *Cleander* offer'd Sacrifice concerning the Journey, and convers'd, in a friendly Manner, with *Xenophon*, and they two contracted an <sup>18</sup> Intercourse of Hospitality : And, when he saw the Obedience, and exact Discipline of the Army, he was still more desirous of commanding them. But, after he had offer'd Sacrifice for three Days, and the Victims were not favourable, he called the Generals together, and said, “ The  
 “ Victims will not allow me to conduct  
 “ the Army ; but let not that discourage  
 “ you : For it looks as if this was reserv'd  
 “ for you. Go on therefore ; and, when  
 “ you are arriv'd at *Byzantium*, we will  
 “ receive you in the best Manner we are  
 “ able.”

UPON this, the Soldiers thought proper to make him a Present of the Sheep that belong'd to the Publick : These he accepted,  
 and

<sup>18</sup> *Reunion*. See the 12<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the first Book,

BOOK and gave them to the Army again; and their  
 VI. fail'd away. The Soldiers, having <sup>39</sup> sold  
 the Corn they had brought with them, and  
 the rest of the Booty they had taken, march'd  
 on through *Bithynia*; and, meeting no-  
 thing

<sup>39</sup> Διαθέμενοι τὸν σίτον. I have been oblig'd to differ from all the Translators, both *Latin*, and *French*, in the Sense I have given to the Word *διαθέμενοι*; the former have render'd it *diviso, distributo frumento*, and *d' Ablancourt, les Soldats le partagerent*, which Signification I will not say absolutely the Word will not bear, though I believe it very uncommon; but I really think the Sense will not bear it here, for our Author says they march'd back, that they might carry something with them into the Territories of their Friends, which they might have done, without marching back, had they before *divided* among themselves the Booty they had taken: I have therefore said *after they had sold the Corn, and the rest of their Booty*, which is a very common Acceptation of the Word *διατίθεσθαι*, and the very Sense, in which our Author uses it in his *Cyropædia*, where he makes *Cyrus* tell his Officers, and those of the *Hyrcanians*, that they should divide the Money, in such a Proportion, among the Horse, and Foot, *ὡς μὲν δὲ λαβόντες διαδίδετε, ἵππεϊ μὲν, τὸ διπλὸν, πεζῷ δὲ, τὸ ἀπλοῦν*, and, a little after, that they should publish an Order for the *Sutteleys*, and *Merchants* to sell their Commodities, and, when they had sold them, to bring others, *πωλεῖν δὲ τὰς καπήλους καὶ ἐμπόρους ὅτι ἔχει ἕκαστος πρᾶσιμον καὶ ταῦτα διαθεμένους, ἀλλὰ ἀγεῖν*: Upon this Occasion I desire the Reader will take Notice, first, that *διαδίδετε*, not *διατίθεσθε*, is the Word made use of there, by our Author, for *dividite, distribuite*; secondly, that he there uses *διαθέμενοι* in the same Sense I have translated it, upon this Occasion, in which Sense also both *Leunclavius*, and *Hutchinson* have render'd the Word, in translating that Passage of the *Cyropædia*.

Κύρου-  
 παιδ.  
 4 B.

thing in the direct Road to carry with them BOOK VI.  
 into the Territories of their Friends, they  
 resolv'd to march back one Day, and a Night :  
 And, having done so, they took great Num-  
 bers both of Slaves, and Cattle ; and, after six  
 Days March, arriv'd at <sup>40</sup>*Chrysopolis*, a Town  
 of *Chalcedonia*, and there they staid seven  
 Days, to sell their Booty.

<sup>40</sup> Εἰς Χρυσόπολιν. *Chrysopolis* was no more than  
 a Village in *Strabo's* Time, that is, in the Time of *Strabo*,  
*Augustus*, καὶ κάμη Χρυσόπολις ; it is now called *Scutari*, <sup>12 B.</sup>  
 and, though separated from *Constantinople* by the *Bos- Tourne-*  
*phorus*, is look'd upon, by the *Turks*, as one of the fort, <sup>15</sup>  
 Suburbs of their Capital. *Polybius* informs us that the Letter.  
*Athenians*, being in possession of *Chrysopolis*, endea-  
 vour'd, by the Advice of *Alcibiades*, to oblige those <sup>Polybius,</sup>  
 who sail'd through the *Bosphorus* into the *Euxine* Sea, <sup>4 B.</sup>  
 to pay Toll. This was, many Ages after, put in Prac-  
 tice with greater Effect by *Mahomet* the Second, by  
 Means of a Castle which he built upon a Cape on the  
 Side of *Europe*, where the Temple of *Mercury*, called  
 by *Polybius* Ερμαῖον, formerly stood ; opposite to this <sup>1b.</sup>  
 Castle *Mourat* the Second had, before, built a Castle on  
 the *Asiatick* Side, called, by the modern *Greeks*, *Neo-*  
*castron*. This Castle *Mahomet* the Second, upon his  
 succeeding *Mourat*, fortified considerably : The Streight  
 between those two Castles *Polybius* says is the nat-  
 rowest of the whole *Bosphorus*, it being but about  
 five Stadia (near half an *English* Mile) over. The  
 same Author adds that this was the Pass, over which  
*Darius Hytaspes* caus'd *Mandrocles* of *Samos*, as he is  
 called by *Herodotus*, an eminent Architect, to lay a <sup>Herodotus</sup>  
 Bridge, over which he pass'd his Army, consisting of <sup>in Melpo-</sup>  
 seven hundred thousand Men, to make War upon the <sup>mene.</sup>  
*Scythians*.

*The End of the Sixth Book.*





A  
DISSERTATION  
UPON THE  
*Argonautick Expedition.*

*Histoire  
du Ciel,  
32 c.*

**I** Shall take this Opportunity to consider what the learned, and polite Author of the *History of Heaven* has advanc'd upon the Subject of the *Argonautick Expedition*; he contends, it seems, that it is all a Fiction; his Reasons are these: He begins by proving, from *Herodotus*, and *Strabo*, that the *Colchians*, who are suppos'd to have been the Possessors of the Golden Fleece, were a Colony of the *Egyptians*, and that, like them, they were famous for their Linen Manufacture, which drew the *Greeks* to *Colchis*, in order to traffick with them:  
Upon

Upon this Foundation that Gentleman builds the following System; he supposes that, when the *Colchians* were to be summon'd to leave their fishing for Gold, with Fleeces, in the River *Phasis*, in order to apply themselves to their Linen Manufacture, they put a Shuttle into the Hands of *Isis*, and because ארגנאטון *Argonatoun* signifies, in *Hebrew*, the Manufacture of Linen, he concludes that the *Greek* Merchants, who were at *Colchis*, called this Shuttle, from the Resemblance which it has to a Ship, *Argonaus*. He goes on, and says that ישון *Jashon*, signifies, in *Hebrew*, to sleep, and מדה *Mideh*, a Measure, and that, when the *Colchians* were summon'd to leave fishing for Gold, with their Fleeces, and apply themselves to their Linen Manufacture, they were oblig'd to watch great Part of the Night, and, consequently, their *Sleep was regulated*; from whence he infers, that the *Greeks*, hearing the Words *Jashon* and *Mideh* often pronounc'd by the *Colchians*, fram'd the Fable of the *Ship Argo*, *Jason*, *Medea*, and the *Golden Fleece*. This is the System of that learned Gentleman, which, I am apt to believe, will hardly find so great Success in the World as

In Eu-  
terpe.

all the rest of that Author's Writings have deservedly met with.' I am very willing to allow that the *Colchians* were a Colony of the  *Egyptians*, and that, according to the Testimony of *Herodotus*, they spoke the same Language, and had the same Religion, the same Laws, the same Customs, and the same Manufactures, particularly That of Linen. But is an Affinity between some *Hebrew* Words, and the Names of *Argonaut*, *Jason*, and *Medea* a sufficient Authority to overthrow an Expedition supported by the concurrent Testimony of all ancient Authors, both *Greeks*, and *Romans*, Poets, and Historians? But this Affinity will still have less Weight, when it is consider'd that the Language, the *Colchians* spoke, being, with great Reason, suppos'd, by this Gentleman, to be the  *Egyptian*, an Affinity between the *Hebrew* Words, and those Names, will be no Proof of what is contended for, unless an Affinity between the  *Egyptian*, and *Hebrew* Languages, be first established; but that is a Task not easy to be perform'd, since the  *Egyptian* Language is so far lost, that not one Letter of it has escap'd: There are, indeed, some few  *Egyptian* Words to be met with in the *Greek*, and *Latin* Authors,

I

but

but then they are written in the Characters of the Language those Authors writ in; but even these few Words contradict the Supposition of that Affinity between the *Ægyptian*, and *Hebrew* Languages: As for Example, *Pliny* tells us that *Obeliscus* signifies, in *Ægyptian*, a Ray of the Sun, <sup>Plin.N.H. 36B.14c.</sup> which is very probable, because their Obelisks were dedicated to the Sun, whereas, in *Hebrew*, קרן *Kran* signifies a Ray of the Sun. But the Author, of all others, who will furnish us with most Materials for this Purpose, is *Diodorus Siculus*, from whom I shall take some Passages, which will evidently shew that the Supposition of an Affinity between the *Ægyptian*, and *Hebrew* Languages, which is the Point labour'd throughout by the Author of the *History of Heaven*, is without Foundation. *Diodorus* tells us that the two foremost of the long Catalogue of Divinities, ador'd by the *Ægyptians*, were the Sun and Moon, worshipp'd by them under the well-known Names of *Osiris*, and *Isis*, and that the first is an *Ægyptian* Word, which, being translated into the *Greek* Language, signifies <sup>Diod. Sic. πολυόφθαλμος</sup>, many-eyed: This Word is <sup>1 B.</sup> not, I believe, to be met with in the sa-

cred Writings, but **רב** *Rab*, in *Hebrew*, signifies *many*, and **עין** *Ngin an Eye*, neither of which has the least Affinity to the *Ægyptian* Word *Osiris*: The same Author tells us that *Isis* is an *Ægyptian* Word also, which, being translated into *Greek*, signifies *παλαιά* *Old*, this, in *Hebrew*, is **זקן** *Zeken*: Here again there is not the least Shadow of an Affinity. The same Author says that *Athena*, the *Ægyptian Pallas*, is also an *Ægyptian* Word, signifying, in *Greek*, *ἀήρ* *the Air, the Sky, or visible Heaven*, so that he very justly gathers that the Epithet, *γλαυκῶπις* *blue-eyed*, was much more applicable to *Pallas* from that Sense of the Word, than because She was suppos'd, by the *Greeks*, to have *blue Eyes*. In *Hebrew*, *the Sky* is **שמים** *Shamaim*. Here again there is no Pretence to any Affinity between the two Languages. Towards the End of the first Book, the same Author observes that *Charon*, in *Ægyptian*, signifies *πρωτεύς* in *Greek*, a *Pilot*, from whence he says the *Greeks* took the Name of their imaginary Ferryman, as they took the Fable of his carrying over the Souls of the Departed, and of their Trials before the three infernal Judges, from the real Trial which all the Deceas'd,

among

among the  *Egyptians* , underwent, before they were suffer'd to be honour'd with Funer-  
 al Rites. Upon this Occasion,  *Diodorus Siculus* , with great Reason, complains that the  *Greeks* , by turning this Practice of the  *Egyptians*  into a Fable, have defeated the End of its Institution ; for, he says, the Fictions, propagated by their Poets, of the Rewards of the Virtuous, and of the Punishments of the Wicked, instead of promoting a Reformation of Manners, are laugh'd at by ill Men, and receiv'd with general Contempt ; whereas, among the  *Egyptians* , the Punishments of the Wicked, and the Rewards of the Virtuous, being not fictitious, but visible to all the World, and the daily Subject of Honour, or Infamy to the Families of both, is, of all others, the greatest Incitement to Virtue. Now the  *Hebrew*  Word for a  *Pilot*  is חבל  *Hhoble* , which is far enough from  *Charon* . The last  *Egyptian*  Word I shall make Use of, shall be from  *Herodotus* , who says that, in the  *Egyptian*  Language, Crocodiles are called  *Champsæ* , καλῶνται δὲ, ὡς κροκόδειλοι, ἀλλὰ χάμψαι. I am sensible there is some Diversity of Opinions concerning the Sea-monster, called in the Book of  *Job* , לויתן  *Luvithan* ; how-  
 ever,

Hierozoi-  
con P. I.  
L. I. c. 7.  
& P. II.  
L. V. c.  
16, 17.

ever, there is little Room to doubt of its being a Crocodile, which Opinion is supported by *Bochart*, who proves it by a Passage of the *Thalmud*, where it is said that the כלבית *Calbith*, or the *Ichneumon*, as he calls it, is the Terror of the *Leviathan*. But the Description of it, in the Book of *Job*, will, I believe, be found to be applicable to no other Animal. *Canst thou fill his Skin with barbed Irons? or his Head with Fish-spears? Behold the Hope of catching him is vain: Shall not a Man be cast down even at the Sight of him? None is so fierce that dare stir him up—Who can open the Doors of his Face? His Teeth are terrible round about. His Scales are his Pride, shut up together as with a close Seal; one so near to another that no Air can come between them; they are join'd one to another, they stick together, that they cannot be sunder'd. When he sneezes, the Light flashes, and his Eyes are like the Eye-Lids of the Morning.—When he raiseth up himself the Mighty are afraid.—The Sword of him that layeth at him cannot hold; the Spear, the Dart, or the Breast-plate. He esteemeth Iron as Straw, and Brass as rotten Wood. After this Description of the*  
Fierce-

Fierceness of the *Leviathan*, and of his offensive, and defensive Weapons, I am surpriz'd that it should ever have been taken for the Whale, which is a Creature terrible in nothing but his Bulk, and of a sluggish, rather than a fierce Disposition. Now, it is certain that no two Words can be, in all Respects, more distant from one another, than *Leviathan* and *Champsæ*: And, indeed, how should the *Ægyptian* Language have any Resemblance to any other, when, if the Account given by *Herodotus* is to be depended on, the *Ionians*, and *Carians*, who assisted *Psammitichus* in destroying his Brother Kings, being eleven in Number, were the first Persons, speaking a different Language, who ever settled in *Ægypt*, πρῶτοι γὰρ ἔτοι (Ἰωνές τε καὶ Κᾶρες) ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν. From this Settlement of the *Ionians*, and *Carians* in *Ægypt*, *Herodotus* dates the Beginning of the Intercourse between the *Ægyptians*, and the *Greeks*, and, very probably, their Intercourse with the *Phænicians* began soon after, from whom, possibly, they may have taken some Terms relating to Commerce, and to some other Things, they might have learn'd from them, which, from the Affinity between the *Phænician*.

*Herodotum  
in Euterpe.*



*nician*, and *Hebrew* Languages, may have some distant Resemblance to some few Terms of the latter. There are a few more *Egyptian* Words to be met with in *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, which have no more Affinity with the *Hebrew*, than those I have mention'd; it is possible the *Chinese* Language may, for some Reasons that do not belong to this Subject, be found to have more Affinity with That of the *Egyptians*. But, if the concurrent Testimony of so many Authors is not thought sufficient to establish the Reality of the *Argonautick* Expedition, we must call in the Assistance of the Stars to support it; half the Sphere is peopl'd with *Argonauts*, or furnish'd with something relating to them; no wonder, when either *Chiron*, the Master of *Jason*, or *Museus*, one of the *Argonauts*, was the first Inventor of it, and adorn'd it with Asterisms. There is the golden Ram, the Ensign of the Vessel, in which *Phryxus* fled to *Colchis*; the Bull with brazen Hoofs tamed by *Jason*; and the Twins, *Castor* and *Pollux*, two of the *Argonauts*, with the Swan of *Leda*, their Mother. There is the Ship *Argo*, and *Hydrus* the watchful Dragon, with *Medea's* Cup, and a Raven upon its Carcass, the

the Symbol of Death. There is *Chiron* the Master of *Jason* with his Altar and Sacrifice. There is the *Argonaut Hercules* with his Dart and the Vulture falling down; and the Dragon, Crab, and Lion, which he flew; and the Harp of the *Argonaut Orpheus*. But, it may be said that the *Argonautick Expedition* is as fictitious as the Asterisms, by which it is delineated. However, the Position of the *Æquinoxes*, and *Solstices*, in Relation to those Asterisms, at the Time of that Expedition, is not fictitious; and we know that those four Cardinal Points then answer'd to the middle, that is the 15<sup>th</sup> Degrees, of *Aries*, *Cancer*, *Chelæ* and *Capricorn*; this Position, I say, is not fictitious, any more than the Retrogradation of the *Æquinoxes*, and *Solstices*, not after the rate of 100 Years to a Degree, as *Hipparchus*, and the *Greek Astronomers* thought, but after the rate of 72 only, as the modern Philosophers have discover'd: The Cause of which Retrogradation, or, to speak in the Language of the Astronomers, of which Precession of the *Æquinoxes*, was unknown to all of them, till *Sir Isaac Newton*, by that amazing Sagacity, which was peculiar to him, and which gave him so visible a Superiority over all other

other Philosophers of all Nations, and all Ages, not only discover'd, but clearly demonstrated, that it is owing to the broad spheroidical Figure of the Earth, and that this Figure arises from the Rotation of the Earth round its Axis, It will, I believe, be thought strange that such a Cloud of Authorities should be dispell'd by the single Breath of one Man, supported by no other Arguments, than a strain'd Analogy between three, or four *Hebrew* Words, and the Names of *Argonaut*, *Jason* and *Medea*. I shall end this long, and I fear, tedious Annotation with declaring that, though I have the Misfortune of differing in Opinion with the Author of the *History of Heaven* upon this Occasion, yet I have all the Deference in the World both for his Learning, and his polite Manner of communicating it to the Publick, and all possible Gratitude for the Pleasure, and Instruction I have had in reading his Works.





T H E  
E X P E D I T I O N  
O F  
C Y R U S.

---

B O O K VII.

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THE preceding Discourse contains a Relation of the Actions the *Greeks* perform'd during their Expedition with *Cyrus* to the Battle, of those they achiev'd after his Death, during their Retreat, 'till they came to the *Euxine* Sea, and of those they perform'd, after their Departure thence, both by Sea, and Land, 'till they arriv'd at *Chrysopolis*, a City of *Asia*, situated without the Mouth of that Sca.

AFTER

BOOK AFTER this *Pharnabazus*, fearing lest  
 VII. the *Greeks* should make an Irruption into  
 the Country under his Command, sent to  
*Anaxibius* the Admiral, (who happen'd to  
 be then at *Byzantium*) to desire he would  
 transport the Army out of *Asia*, with Assu-  
 rance that, in Return, he would do every  
 Thing, that could reasonably be expected.  
 Hereupon, *Anaxibius* sent for the Generals  
 and Captains to *Byzantium*; and promis'd,  
 if the Army came over, they should have  
 Pay. The rest of the Officers told him, they  
 would consider of it, and let him know their  
 Resolution; but *Xenophon* said he propos'd  
 to leave the Army, and wanted to sail a-  
 way. However *Anaxibius* desir'd he would  
 come over with the Army, before he left it,  
 which the other consented to:

IN the mean Time, *Seuthes*, the *Thracian*,  
 sent *Medosades* to *Xenophon* to desire he  
 would let him have his Assistance in prevail-  
 ing upon the Army to pass into *Europe*,  
 assuring him he should have no Reason to  
 repent it. *Xenophon* said, " The Army  
 " will certainly pass over: Let him not  
 " therefore give any Thing either to me, or  
 " to any other Person, upon that Account.  
 " As

“ As soon as it is transported, I shall depart ; BOOK  
 “ let him therefore apply to those who stay, VII:  
 “ and may be of Service to him, in such {  
 “ a Manner as he thinks fit.”

AFTER this the whole Army pass'd over to *Byzantium* ; but *Anaxibius* gave them no Pay : However, he publish'd an Order that the Soldiers should go out of the Town with their Arms, and Baggage, as if he design'd to dismiss them, and to take an Account of their Numbers at the same Time. The Soldiers were uneasy at this ; because they had no Money to furnish themselves with Provisions for their March ; and packed up their Baggage with Reluctance.

*XENOPHON*, having, before, contracted an Intercourse of Hospitality with *Cleander*, the *Lacedæmonian* Governour, went to take his Leave of him, designing to set sail immediately. But he said to him, I desire you will not do it ; if you do, you will be blam'd, for you are already accus'd by some People as the Cause of the Army's creeping so slowly out of the Town. *Xenophon* answer'd, I am not the Cause of this ; but the Soldiers, being in want of Money

Book VII. { ney to buy Provisions, are for that Reason; of themselves, unwilling to leave the Town. However, says *Cleander*, I advise you to go out with them, as if you design'd to proceed; and, when the Army is out of the Town, to depart. Let us go then, says *Xenophon*, to *Anaxibius*, and settle it in this Manner: And, coming to him they inform'd him of what they had determin'd. He advis'd them to pursue it, and that the Army should immediately go out with their Baggage: At the same Time he desired they would also give Notice, that whoever absented himself from the Review, and Muster, should incur their Censure. Upon this; the Generals first, and, after them, the rest of the Army went out of the Town: They were now all out, except a few, and *Eteonicus* stood ready at the Gates to shut, and bolt them, as soon as they were all gone.

*ANAXIBIUS* therefore, calling together the Generals, and Captains, said;  
 “ You may supply yourselves with Provisions out of the *Thracian* Villages, where  
 “ there is great Plenty of Barley, and Wheat,  
 “ and of all Things necessary: As soon as  
 “ you have furnish'd yourselves, go on to  
 “ the

“ the *Chersonesus*, where *Cyniscus* will give you Pay.” Some of the Soldiers overheard this, or, possibly, one of the Captains inform’d the Army of it. In the mean Time, the Generals enquir’d concerning *Seuthes*, whether he were a Friend, or an Enemy; and whether they were to march over the holy Mountain, or round through the Middle of *Thrace*.

BOOK  
VII.

WHILE they were engag’d in this Discourse, the Soldiers snatched up their Arms, and ran hastily to the Gates, with a Design to forc’e their way back into the Town. But *Eteonicus*, with those about him, when they

† Εἰς τὴν Χερρόνησον. The *Thracian Chersonesus* was separated from the rest of *Thrace* by a Wall reaching, from the *Propontis*, to the Bay called *Sinus Melas*, in the *Aegean Sea*. This Wall was built by *Dercyllidas*, the *Lacedæmonian* General, the second Year of the 95<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, that is, the Year after *Xenophon* brought back the Remains of the Soldiers, who had serv’d under *Cyrus*: This Wall was begun in the Spring, and ended before the Autum’n of the same Year; it reach’d from Sea to Sea quite cross the Isthmus, and was in Length thirty-seven Stadia, that is, about three English Miles and three Quarters: This *Chersonesus* contain’d in it eleven Towns, many Sea-Ports, and a large Extent of arable Land, Woods, and rich Pastures. It afterwards belong’d to *Agrippa*, Son-in-Law to *Augustus*, and one of the greatest Men of that, or of any other Age: At his Death it came to *Augustus*. It is great Pity that Part of the seventh Book of *Strabo* is lost, where he treats of this *Chersonesus*.

Plin. N. H.  
4 B.  
Diod. Sic.  
14 B.  
Xenoph.  
Ελλην.  
3 B.

Dion.  
Cassius  
54 B.



BOOK they saw the heavy-arm'd Men running to  
 VII. the Gates, immediately shut, and bolted  
 them. Upon this, the Soldiers <sup>2</sup> knock'd  
 at the Gates, and complain'd they were treat-  
 ed with great Injustice, in being shut out of  
 the Town, as a Præy to the Enemy; threat-  
 ning to cut the Gates asunder, if they  
 would not open them. Some ran to the  
 Sea, and got over the <sup>3</sup> Mole into the Town;  
 and others, who happen'd to be within, ob-  
 serving what was doing at the Gates, cleft  
 the Bars with Hatchets, and set them open:  
 Upon this they all rush'd in.

*XENOPHON*, seeing what pass'd,  
 and being afraid the Army should fall to  
 plundering, and, by that Means, an irreparable  
 Mischief should be done, not only to the  
 Town, but to himself, and the Soldiers, ran  
 in all Haste, and got within the Gates, toge-  
 ther with the Croud. As soon as the In-  
 habitants saw the Army break in, they fled  
 out of the Market, some hurrying to the  
 Ships,

<sup>2</sup> Εκοπτον τὰς πύλας. *Luciān* for ever uses this  
 Word in the Sense I have given it here.

<sup>3</sup> Παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν. *Χηλαί*· οἱ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πρὸς  
 θάλασσαν τεύχεος προβεβλημένοι λίθοι, διὸ τὴν τῶν κυ-  
 μάτων βίαν, μὴ τὸ τεῖχος βλάπτοιτο· παρὰ τὸ εἰσι-  
 νέναι χηλῇ βοός. *Suidas*.

Ships, others to their Houses, and those, who were within Doors, ran out: Some hal'd down the Gallies into the Sea, in Hopes of saving themselves in them: And all thought themselves undone, the Town being taken. Upon this *Eteonicus* fled to the Citadel; and *Anaxibius*, running down to the Sea, sail'd round to the same Place, in a Fisher-Boat, and, immediately, sent for the Garrison from *Chalcedon*: For he did not think That in the Citadel sufficient for its Defence.

As soon as the Soldiers saw *Xenophon*, they crouded about him, and said, "you have now an Opportunity, O *Xenophon*! of making yourself a Man. You are Master of a Town, of Gallies, of Money, and of so many People: You have now the Power, if you think fit, of making us rich, and we That of making you considerable." "You say well, says *Xenophon*; and I will follow your Advice: If, therefore, this is your Desire, place yourselves in your Ranks immediately, and handle your Arms." He gave these Orders with a Design to quiet them, and, for the same Reason, directed the rest of the Officers to give Orders that their Men also should

BOOK stand to their Arms. The Soldiers drew  
 VII. up of their own accord, the heavy-arm'd  
 Men presently forming themselves into a  
 Body of fifty deep, and the Targeteers re-  
 pairing to each of the Wings. The Place  
 where they stood, was called the *Thracian*  
 Square, and, being free from Houses, and  
 even, was very proper for a Parade. When  
 they all stood arm'd in their Ranks, and  
 their Minds were appeas'd, *Xenophon* ad-  
 dress'd himself to the Assembly, in the fol-  
 lowing Manner;

“ GENTLEMEN! I am not at all sur-  
 “ priz'd at your Resentment, and that you  
 “ look upon yourselves as very ill us'd, by  
 “ being impos'd on. But, if we indulge our  
 “ Anger, and not only take Revenge of the  
 “ *Lacedæmonians*, who are present, for this  
 “ Imposition, but plunder the City, that is, in  
 “ no Degree, guilty, consider what will  
 “ be the Consequence: We shall, from that  
 “ Moment, be the declar'd Enemies both of  
 “ the *Lacedæmonians*, and of their Allies;  
 “ and, of what Nature this War will be, may  
 “ be easily guess'd, by those who have seen,  
 “ and call to Mind what has happen'd of late  
 “ Years.

“ Years. For, when <sup>4</sup> we *Athenians* enter’d Book  
 “ upon the War with the *Lacedæmonians*, VII.  
 “ and their Allies, we had a Fleet of no less  
 “ than four hundred Galleys, some of which  
 “ were at Sea, and others, in <sup>5</sup> the Docks:  
 “ We had a great Sum of Money in the  
 “ Treasury, and an annual Revenue pay-  
 “ able both by the Citizens, and Foreigners,  
 “ of no less than <sup>6</sup> one thousand Talents:  
 “ We had the Command of all the Islands;  
 “ we were possess’d of many Cities both in  
 “ *Asia*, and *Europe*, and even of *Byzantium*,  
 “ where we now are: Yet, with all these  
 “ Advantages, we were overcome by them,  
 “ as you all know. What then have we  
 “ now to expect, when the *Lacedæmonians*,  
 “ and the *Achæans* are united, and the  
 “ *Athenians*, with those who were then in  
 “ Alliance with them, are all become an  
 “ Accession to their Power? When <sup>7</sup> *Tissa-*  
 “ *phernes*, and all the rest of the *Barbarians*,

M 3

“ who

<sup>4</sup> Ημεῖς γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. See the Introduction.

<sup>5</sup> Ἐν τοῖς νηυσὶν. Νεώρια λέγεται ὁ τόπος ὅπου ἅπας, εἰς ὃν ἀνέλκονται αἱ τριήρεις, καὶ πάλιν ἐξ αὐτῆ καθέλκονται. *Harpocraton*. For which he cites *Lycurgus*, and *Andocides*.

<sup>6</sup> Χιλίων Ταλάντων. See the 11<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the first Book.

<sup>7</sup> Τισσαφέρνης. See the 6<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the first Book.

BOOK “ who inhabit the Sea-Coast, are our Ene-  
VII. “ mies, and the King of *Persia* himself the  
“ most inveterate of all, against whom we  
“ have made War with a Design to deprive  
“ him of his Kingdom, and if possible, of  
“ his Life too? When all these join their  
“ Forces, is there any one so void of Sense,  
“ as to flatter himself that we shall prove  
“ superior to them? For Heaven’s Sake,  
“ Gentlemen! let us not go mad, and pe-  
“ rish with Dishonour, by becoming the  
“ proclaim’d Enemies to our Fathers, our  
“ Friends, and our Relations? For these all  
“ live in the Cities, that will make War  
“ upon us: And not without Reason; if,  
“ having declin’d to possess ourselves of  
“ any Town belonging to the *Barbarians*,  
“ whom we vanquish’d, we should plunder  
“ the first *Greek* City we arrive at. For  
“ my Part, I wish, before I see you guilty  
“ of such Things, I may be buried ten thou-  
“ sand Fathom deep: And would advise  
“ you, as you are *Greeks*, to endeavour,  
“ by your Obedience to the Masters of  
“ *Greece*, to obtain Justice. But, if your  
“ Endeavours should prove ineffectual, we  
“ ought not, however, though wrong’d, to  
“ deprive ourselves of all possibility of re-  
“ turning

“ turning Home. My Opinion therefore Book  
 “ now is, that we should send some Persons VII.  
 “ to *Anaxibius*, to acquaint him, that we  
 “ did not come into the Town with a Design  
 “ to commit Violence, but, if possible, to  
 “ obtain Favour; and, if we fail in this, to  
 “ let him see that we are ready to leave it  
 “ again, not because we are impos’d upon,  
 “ but because we are willing to obey.”

THIS was resolv’d upon: So they sent *Hieronimus* of *Elis*, *Eurylochus* of *Arcadia*, and *Philesius* of *Achaia* to him, with these Instructions. While the Soldiers were yet assembled, *Cyratades*, a *Theban*, came to them. This Man was not banish’d from *Greece*, but wander’d about, from an Ambition to command Armies, offering himself to any City, or Nation, that had Occasion for a General. He told them, he was ready to conduct them to that Part of *Thrace*, called the <sup>8</sup> *Delta*, where they should make their Fortunes, and that, ’till they arriv’d there, he would supply them

M 4

with

<sup>8</sup> Τὸ Δέλτα καλούμενον τῆς Θράκης. Besides the *Egyptian Delta*, other Places were, from their triangular Figure, called by that Name by the Ancients, for *Strabo* mentions an Island, called *Pattalene*, lying *Strabo*, at the Mouth of the *Indus*, which, he says, *Onesicri-* 15 B.  
*tus* calls by the Name of *Delta*.

BOOK with Meat, and Drink in Plenty. While he  
 VII. was saying this, the Soldiers receiv'd an Answer from *Anaxibius*, who assur'd them they should have no Cause to repent of obeying him; that he would give an Account of this to the Magistrates of *Sparta*, and would, himself, consider in what he could be of most Service to them. Upon this, they accepted *Cyratades* for their General, and went out of the Town: And *Cyratades* appointed to come the next Day to the Army, with Victims, and a Priest, and also Meat, and Drink for the Men. As soon as they were out of the Town, *Anaxibius* caus'd the Gates to be shut, and publick Notice to be given, that, if any of the Soldiers were found within the Walls, they should be sold for Slaves. The next Day, *Cyratades* came to the Army with the Victims, and the Priest: He was followed by twenty Men, loaded with Barley-Meal, and as many, with Wine; three more brought as many Olives, another, as much Garlick, and a third, as many Onions as he could carry; and, having order'd these Things to be set down, as if he intended to divide them among the Troops, he offer'd Sacrifice.

HERE

ᾧ Ως ἐπὶ Δάσμευσιν. Δάσμευσις, Διάσμευσις. *Hesychius.*

HERE *Xenophon* sent for *Cleander*, and desir'd him to procure Liberty for him to go into the Town, and embark at *Byzantium*. When *Cleander* came, he said, it is with great Difficulty that I have prevail'd; for *Anaxibius* says it is not proper that the Soldiers should be near the Town, and *Xenophon* within; the Inhabitants being engag'd in Factions, and Animosities: However, he says, you may come in, if you propose to sail with him. Upon which, *Xenophon* took Leave of the Soldiers, and went into the Town with *Cleander*.

BOOK  
VII.

THE Victims not being favourable to *Cyratades* the first Day, he distributed nothing to the Soldiers. The next, both the Victims and *Cyratades*, with a Garland upon his Head, preparing to offer Sacrifice, stood before the Altar, when *Timasion* the *Dardanian*, *Neon* the *Asinian*, and *Cleanor*, the *Orchomenian*, came to *Cyratades*, and forbid him to offer Sacrifice, adding, that, unless he gave the Provisions to the Army, he should not command it. Upon this, he order'd them to be distributed; but the Provisions falling considerably short of one Day's Subsistence for every Man, he renounc'd the

General-



BOOK Generalship, and, taking the Victims, departed.  
VII.

HEREUPON, *Neon* the *Afinian*, *Phryniscus* of *Achaia*, and *Timasion* of *Dardanus*, who staid with the Army, led them into some Villages of the *Thracians*, that lay near *Byzantium*, where they encamp'd. Here, the Generals disagreed, *Cleanor*, and *Phryniscus* being desirous to carry the Army to *Seuthes* (for he had gain'd them, by making a Present of a Horse, to one, and of a Woman, to the other) and *Neon*, to the *Chersonesus*, upon this Presumption, that, if they came into the Dominions of the *Lacedaemonians*, he should have the sole Command. *Timasion* wanted to go back into *Asia*, expecting, by this Means, to return Home. The Soldiers were for this: But, much Time being spent in this Contest, many of the Soldiers sold their Arms in the Country, and sail'd away, as they could; others gave them to the Country-People, and settled in the Cities, mingling with the Inhabitants. *Anaxibius* was pleas'd to hear the Army was disbanding, for he concluded this would be most acceptable to *Pharnabazus*.

WHILE

WHILE <sup>10</sup> *Anaxibius* was upon his BOOK VII.  
 Voyage from *Byzantium*, *Aristarchus* met him at *Cyzicus*. He was sent to succeed *Cleander*, as Governour of *Byzantium*. He inform'd *Anaxibius* that *Polus* was upon the Point of coming into the *Hellepont*, to succeed him in the Command of the Fleet: And *Anaxibius* order'd *Aristarchus* to sell all the Soldiers of *Cyrus*, whom he found in *Byzantium*. As for *Cleander*, he had sold none of them, but, out of Compassion, took Care of those who were Sick, and oblig'd the Inhabitants to receive them into their Houses: But *Aristarchus*, as soon as he arriv'd, sold no less than four hundred of them.

<sup>10</sup> Αποπλέοντι δὲ Αναξιβίῳ ἐκ Βυζαντίου συναντᾷ Ἀρίσταρχος ἐν Κυζίκῳ. I was surpriz'd to find *Hutchinson* translate this Passage, *At Anaxibio è Byzantio solvienti obviam venit apud Cyzicum Aristarchus*, and *Leunclavius*, *quum autem Byzantio solveret, obviam ei venit apud Cyzicum Aristarchus*: How could *Aristarchus* meet *Anaxibius* at *Cyzicus*, as the latter was weighing Anchor from *Byzantium*? They have translated it, as if our Author had said ἀναγομένῳ δὲ Αναξιβίῳ. It is very plain the Sense is, that *Aristarchus*, who was sent to succeed *Cleander*, met *Anaxibius* at *Cyzicus*, which every body knows is a City upon the *Propontis*, not far from the *Hellepont*, through which *Anaxibius* was to sail in his Return Home. It is with Pleasure I do Justice to *d'Ablandcourt*, upon this Occasion; he has said very properly, *comme il fut parti de Byzance, & arrivé à Cyzique, il rencontra Aristarque*.

BOOK them. When *Anaxibius* came to <sup>11</sup> *Parium*, he sent to *Pharnabazus* in Pursuance of their Agreement; but he, finding that *Aristarchus* was going to *Byzantium*, in Quality of Governour, and that *Anaxibius* was no longer Admiral, neglected him, and made the same Terms with *Aristarchus* concerning the Army of *Cyrus*, that he had before made with *Anaxibius*.

UPON this, *Anaxibius*, calling *Xenophon* to him, desir'd, by all Means, that he would set sail for the Army immediately, and both keep them in a Body, and draw together as many as he could of those who were dispers'd, then leading them to <sup>12</sup> *Perinthus*, transport them forthwith into *Asia*. He order'd, at the same Time, a thirty-Oar Galley to attend him, and not only gave him a Letter, but sent an Express with him,

<sup>11</sup> Παραπλεύσας εἰς Πάριον. *Parium* was a Town upon the *Propontis* situated between *Cyzicus* and the *Hellespont*; it was built, according to *Strabo*, by the Inhabitants of the Island of *Paros*: the same Author adds, that in *Parium* there was an Altar, the Sides of which were 600 Feet in Length.

<sup>12</sup> Εἰς Πέρινθον. *Perinthus* was a City of *Thrace* in the Neighbourhood of *Byzantium*, it was otherwise called *Heraclea*; *Harduin* says it is now called *Pantiro*.

Strabo,  
10 B.

Plin.N.H.  
4 B. c. 18.

him, to let the *Perinthians* know that they were immediately to furnish *Xenophon* with Horses to carry him to the Army. *Xenophon* cross'd the *Propontis*, and arriv'd at the Army. He was receiv'd by the Soldiers with great Joy, who followed him cheerfully, in Hopes of passing over from *Thrace* into *Asia*. Book VII.

“ *SEUTHES*, hearing that *Xenophon* was return'd, sent *Medosades* to him by Sea, to desire he would bring the Army to him, promising whatever he thought most effectual to persuade him. *Xenophon* answer'd that it was not possible for any thing of this Kind to be done: Whereupon the other went away. When the *Greeks* came to *Perinthus*, *Neon* drew off his Forces, and encamp'd apart with about eight hundred Men; the rest remain'd together under the Walls of the Town.

AFTER this, *Xenophon* was employed in getting Ships to transport the Troops into *Asia*; when *Aristarchus*, the Governour, arriving from *Byzantium* with two Gallies, at the Desire of *Pharnabazus*, forbade the

Masters

“ Σελθης. See the second Annotation upon the sixth Book.

BOOK VII. Masters of the Ships to transport them, and, going to the Army, commanded the Soldiers not to go over into *Asia*. *Xenophon* told him that *Anaxibius* had order'd it, and, says he, " he sent me hither for that Purpose." Upon which *Aristarchus* replied, " *Anaxibius* is not Admiral, and I am Governor here; and, if I take any of you attempting to go over, I'll throw them into the Sea." Having said this, he went into the Town. The next Day, he sent for the Generals, and Captains. And, when they came near the Walls, *Xenophon* had Notice given him, that, if he went into the Town, he should be apprehended, and either suffer some Punishment there, or be deliver'd even to *Pharnabazus*. When he heard this, he sent them on before, saying, he had a Mind to offer Sacrifice; and returning, he sacrific'd in order to know whether the Gods would allow him to endeavour to carry the Army to *Seuthes*: For he saw, that it was neither safe to pass over into *Asia*, since the Person, who would oppose it, had Gallies at his Command; neither was he willing to shut himself up in the *Chersonesus*, and expose the Army to a general Scarcity, where, besides the Want of Provisions, they would be under

a Necessity of obeying the Governour of the Place.

Book  
VII.

WHILE *Xenophon* was thus employed, the Generals, and Captains came from *Aristarchus*, and brought Word that he had sent them away, for the present, but had order'd them to come back to him in the Evening. This made the Treachery still more manifest : *Xenophon* therefore, finding the Sacrifices promis'd Security both to himself, and the Army, in going to *Seuthes*, took with him *Polycrates* the *Athenian*, one of the Captains, and, from each of the Generals, except *Neon*, a Person in whom they confided ; and went, that Night, to the Army of *Seuthes*, which lay at the Distance of sixty Stadia. When they drew near to it, he found several Fires, but nobody near them, which made him, at first, conclude that *Seuthes* had decamp'd ; but, hearing a Noise, and the Men calling out to one another, he understood that *Seuthes* had, for this Reason, order'd Fires to be made before his Night-Guards, that they, being in the Dark, might not be seen, neither might it be known where they were ; while those, who approach'd the Camp, could not be conceal'd, but were discover'd  
by

BOOK by the Light. Observing this, he sent the VII. Interpreter, whom he happen'd to have with him, and order'd him to acquaint *Seuthes* that *Xenophon* was there; and desir'd a Conference with him. They ask'd whether it was *Xenophon* the *Athenian*, one of the Army; and, upon his saying it was he, they return'd with great Alacrity, and, presently after, about two hundred Targeteers appear'd, who conducted *Xenophon*, and his Company to *Seuthes*. They found him in a <sup>14</sup> Castle very much upon his Guard, and, round the Castle, stood Horses ready bridled: For, living in continual Fear, he fed his Horses in the Day-Time, and stood upon his Guard all Night. It was reported that, formerly; <sup>15</sup> *Teres*, the Ancestor of this Man, having enter'd this Country with a considerable Army, lost great Numbers of his Men, and was stripp'd of his Baggage by the Inhabitants. They are called *Thynians*, and, of all People, are said to be the most dangerous Enemies in the Night.

WHEN they were near the Castle, *Seuthes* order'd *Xenophon* to come in with any two

<sup>14</sup> Εν τύρραι. Τύραις; Πάρις. *Hesychius*.

<sup>15</sup> Τήνης ὁ γὰρ πρόγονος. This *Teres* was the Father of *Sitalces*, who was Uncle to *Seuthes*; see the second Annotation upon the sixth Book.

two of his Company : As soon as they were enter'd, they first saluted each other, and, according to the *Thracian* Custom, drank to one another in Horns full of Wine, (*Medosades* being present, who was the Ambassador of *Seuthes* upon all Occasions) then *Xenophon* began to speak ; “ You sent “ *Medosades* to me, O *Seuthes* ! first to “ *Chalcedon*, to desire I would co-operate “ with you in getting the Army transported “ out of *Asia* ; and promis'd, if I effected it, “ to return the Obligation, as *Medosades* “ inform'd me.” Having said this, he ask'd *Medosades* if it was true, who own'd it. Then *Xenophon* went on, “ After I arriv'd “ at the Army from *Parium*, *Medosades* “ came to me again, and assur'd me, if I “ brought the Army to you, that you would “ not only treat me as a Friend, and a Brother, in other Respects, but that you “ would deliver up to me those maritime “ Towns, of which you are in Possession.” After this, he again ask'd *Medosades* if he said so, who own'd that also. “ Then, “ said *Xenophon*, let *Seuthes* know the “ Answer I made to you at *Chalcedon*.” “ You answer'd first that the Army had re-  
VOL. II. N “ solv'd



Book “ solv’d to go over to *Byzantium*, and,  
 VII. “ therefore, there was no Reason to give any  
 “ Thing, either to you, or to any other Per-  
 “ son, upon that Account: You added that,  
 “ as soon as you had cross’d the Sea, you de-  
 “ sign’d to leave the Army, which happen’d  
 “ accordingly.” “ What, says *Xenophon*,  
 “ did I say, when you came to <sup>16</sup> *Selymbria*?”  
 “ You said that what I propos’d was impracti-  
 “ cable, because the Army had determin’d  
 “ to go to *Perinthus*, in order to pass over  
 “ into *Asia*.” “ Here I am then, said *Xe-*  
 “ *nophon*, with *Phryniscus*, one of the Gene-  
 “ rals, and *Polycrates*, one of the Captains;  
 “ and, without, are those who are most con-  
 “ fided in by each of the Generals, except  
 “ *Neon*, the *Lacedæmonian*: And, if you  
 “ desire that our Stipulation should receive  
 “ a greater Sanction, let them also be call’d  
 “ in. Do you, therefore, *Polycrates*! go to  
 “ them, and tell them, from me, that I desire  
 “ they would leave their Arms without,  
 “ and do you leave your Sword there also,  
 “ and come in.”

## SEUTHES,

Strabo,  
 7 B.

<sup>16</sup> Εν Σηλυμβρίᾳ. *Selymbria* was a Town of *Thrace* upon the *Propontis*, near *Perinthus*. *Strabo* says that *βρίᾳ*, in the *Thracian* Language, signifies a Town. *Leunclavius* says it is now called, both by the *Turks*, and *Greeks*, *Silyurian*.

SEUTHES, hearing this, said, he should distrust no *Athenian*; for he knew them to be <sup>17</sup> related to him, and looked upon them, as his affectionate Friends. When all proper Persons were come in, first *Xenophon* ask'd *Seuthes* what Use he propos'd to make of the Army? To this he answer'd: "*Mæsa-*  
"*des* was my Father, under whose Govern-  
"*ment* were the *Melandeptans*, the *Thy-*  
"*nians*, and the *Thranipsans*. My Father,  
"*being* driven out of this Country, when  
"*the* Affairs of the *Odrysians* declin'd, died  
"*of* Sickneſs, and I, being then an Orphan,  
"*was* brought up at the Court of *Medocus*,  
"*the* preſent King. When I grew up, I  
N 2 " could

<sup>17</sup> Καὶ γὰρ ὅτι συγγενεῖς εἶεν εἰδέναι. *Hutchinson*, upon this Occaſion, quotes a Paſſage out of the ſecond Book of *Thucydides*, where that Author ſays that *Perdiccas* gave his Siſter *Stratonice* in Marriage to *Seuthes*: I own, I don't underſtand how *Seuthes* could be ſaid to be related to the *Athenians* by marrying a Daughter of a King of *Macedon*. We find in another Part of the ſecond Book of *Thucydides*, that the *Athenians* enter'd into an Alliance with *Sitalces*, and made his Son *Sadoeus* a Citizen of *Athens*, but this, I own, does not ſeem to ſupport what *Seuthes* ſays of their Relation: It is certain that *Teres*, the Father of *Sitalces*, was not the Perſon, who married *Procne*, the Daughter of *Pandion*, the Son of *Erechtheus*, King of *Athens*, ſince *Thucydides* expreſsly tells us that the Name of the latter was *Tereus*, and that they were not of the ſame Part of *Thrace*; ſo that *Seuthes* could not ground his Relation to the *Athenians* upon the Marriage of *Tereus* with *Procne*.

BOOK “ could not bear to subsist upon another Man’s

VII. “ Liberality. As I was sitting, therefore, by  
 { “ him, I begg’d of him to give me as many  
 “ Troops as he could spare, that, if possible,  
 “ I might take Revenge on those who had  
 “ expelled our Family, and be no longer,  
 “ like a Dog, supported at his Table. Up-  
 “ on this, he gave me those Forces both of  
 “ Horse, and of Foot, which you shall see, as  
 “ soon as it is Day; and I now subsist by  
 “ plundering my paternal Country with  
 “ these Troops: To which if you join  
 “ your Forces, I have Reason to believe  
 “ that, with the Assistance of the Gods, I  
 “ shall easily recover my Kingdom. This  
 “ is what I desire at your Hands.”

“ LET us know then, says *Xenophon*,  
 “ what you have in your Power to give to  
 “ the Army, the Captains, and the Gene-  
 “ rals, if we come; to the End that these  
 “ may make their Report.” He promis’d to  
 every common Soldier a Cyzicene, two  
 to the Captains, and four to the Generals;  
 with as much Land, as they desir’d, besides  
 Yokes of Oxen, and a walled Town near  
 the Sea. “ If, says *Xenophon*, I endeavour  
 to

“ to effect what you desire, but am prevent- BOOK  
 “ ed by the Fear that may be entertain’d of VII.  
 “ the *Lacedæmonians*, will you receive in-  
 “ to your Country any, who shall be desirous  
 “ to come to you?” He answer’d, “ Not  
 “ only That, but I will treat them like Bro-  
 “ thers, give them a place at my Table, and  
 “ make them Partakers of every thing we  
 “ shall conquer: To you, *Xenophon*! I’ll  
 “ give my Daughter, and if you have one,  
 “ I’ll buy her, according to the *Thracian*  
 “ Custom, and give you *Bisanthe*, for your  
 “ Habitation, which is the handsomest Town  
 “ belonging to me near the Sea.”

AFTER they heard this, they exchange’d  
 Hands, and went away; and arriving at the  
 Camp before Day, each of them made his  
 Report to those who sent them. As soon  
 as it was light, *Aristarchus* sent again for  
 the Generals, and Captains to come to  
 him: they declin’d it, and determin’d,  
 and going to *Aristarchus*, to call  
 the Army together: And all the Soldiers  
 assembled, besides those belonging to *Neon*;  
 who encamp’d at the Distance of about  
 ten Stadia from the rest. When they were

BOOK assembled, *Xenophon* rose up, and spoke as  
 VII. follows.

“ GENTLEMEN! *Aristarchus*, with his  
 “ Galleys, hinders us from sailing to the  
 “ Place we propos’d: So that it is not safe  
 “ for us to embark. He would have us  
 “ force our Way, over the holy Mountain,  
 “ into the *Chersonesus*: If we gain that  
 “ Pass, and arrive there, he says he will nei-  
 “ ther sell any more of you, as he did in *By-*  
 “ *zantium*, nor deceive you any longer;  
 “ but that you will then be the better inti-  
 “ tled to receive Pay. He promises also  
 “ that he will no longer suffer us, as he does  
 “ now, to want Provisions. Thus *Aris-*  
 “ *tarchus* says. On the other side, *Seuthes*  
 “ engages that, if you go to him, you shall  
 “ find your Account in it. Consider, there-  
 “ fore, whether you will deliberate upon this  
 “ Matter, while you stay here, or after you  
 “ are return’d to the Place, where you may  
 “ supply your selves with Provisions. My  
 “ Opinion is, since we have neither Money  
 “ to purchase what we want, nor are suf-  
 “ fer’d to supply ourselves without it, that  
 “ we return to the Villages, where the In-  
 “ habitants, being weaker than we are, do  
 “ not

“ not oppose it, and where, after we are  
 “ supplied with what is necessary, and have Book VII.  
 “ heard in what Service each of them pro-  
 “ pose to employ us, we may chuse that  
 “ Measure, which shall appear most to our  
 “ Advantage. Whoever, therefore, is of  
 “ this Opinion, let him hold up his Hand.”  
 And they all held up their Hands. Go then,  
 continued he, and get your Baggage ready,  
 and, when the Order is given, follow your  
 Leader.

AFTER this, *Xenophon* put himself at their  
 Head, and they followed him. But *Neon*,  
 together with some other Persons sent by *Ari-*  
*starchus*, would have persuaded them to turn  
 back: However, they regarded them not.  
 When they had march'd about thirty Stadia,  
*Seuthes* met them. As soon as *Xenophon*  
 saw him, he desir'd he would draw near, that  
 as many of the Army, as possible, might  
 hear what he had to propose for their Advan-  
 tage. When he came up, *Xenophon* said ;  
 “ We are marching to some Place, where  
 “ the Army may find Provisions, and where,  
 “ after we have heard what you, and the  
 “ *Lacedæmonians* have to propose to us, we  
 “ shall be determin'd by That, which appears

BOOK “ most to our Advantage. If, therefore, you  
 VII. “ will conduct us to some Place, where there  
 “ is great Abundance, we shall look upon  
 “ ourselves under the same Obligation to  
 “ you, as if you entertain’d us yourself.”  
*Seuthes* answer’d, “ I know where there are  
 “ many Villages that lie together, and are  
 “ well supplied with all sorts of Provisions;  
 “ they are so near, that you may march thi-  
 “ ther, with Ease, before Dinner.” Lead the  
 Way therefore, said *Xenophon*. The Army  
 being arriv’d in the Villages in the <sup>18</sup> After-  
 noon, the Soldiers assembled, and *Seuthes*  
 spoke to them in the following Manner;  
 “ Gentlemen! I desire you will assist me  
 “ with your Arms; and I promise to each of  
 “ you a <sup>19</sup> Cizycene, for your monthly Pay,  
 “ and to the Captains, and Generals, what is  
 “ customary. Besides this, I will do Honour  
 “ to every Man, who shall deserve it. As  
 “ to Meat and Drink, you shall supply your  
 “ selves with both, as you do now, out of  
 “ the Country. But, I must insist upon  
 “ retaining the Booty, that, by selling it, I  
 “ may provide for your Pay. We ourselves  
 “ shall

<sup>18</sup> Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς αὐτὰς τῆς δεΐλης. See the  
 119<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the first Book.

<sup>19</sup> Κυζικηνὸν. See the 34<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the  
 fifth Book.

“ shall be sufficient to pursue, and discover BOOK  
 “ those of the Enemy, who fly, and seek to VII.  
 “ conceal themselves, and, with your Assis-  
 “ tance, we will endeavour to overcome  
 “ those who resist.” *Xenophon* then ask’d  
 him how far from the Sea he propos’d the  
 Army should follow him? He answer’d,  
 never more than seven Days March, and  
 often less.

AFTER that, every Man, who desir’d to  
 offer any Thing, had Liberty to speak, and  
 several of them agreed that the Proposals of  
*Seuthes* were very advantageous; for, it be-  
 ing now Winter, it was neither possible  
 for those who desir’d it, to sail home, nor for  
 the Army to subsist in the Territories of  
 their Friends, if they were to pay for every  
 Thing they had. They consider’d also that it  
 would be safer for them to remain, and find  
 Subsistence, in an Enemy’s Country, jointly  
 with *Seuthes*, than by themselves; and that,  
 if, while they were in Possession of so many  
 Advantages, they also receiv’d Pay, it would be  
 a Piece of good Fortune they had no Reason  
 to expect. Then *Xenophon* said; “ if any one  
 “ has any Thing to say against this, let him  
 “ speak,



BOOK “speak, if not, <sup>20</sup> let him give his Vote for it;”  
 VII. and, there being no Opposition, they gave  
 their Votes for it, and it was resolv’d ac-  
 cordingly; and *Xenophon* immediately told  
*Seuthes*, they would enter into his Service.

AFTER that, the Soldiers encamp’d in their Ranks; while the Generals, and Captains were invited by *Seuthes* to sup with him at his Quarters in a neighbouring Village. When they came to the Door, one *Heraclides* of *Maronea* address’d himself to those he thought in a Capacity of making Presents to *Seuthes*, and first to some *Pa-rian* Deputies, who were there, being sent to establish a Friendship with *Medocus*, King of the *Odrysians*, and had brought Presents both for him, and his Queen: To these he said that *Medocus* liv’d up in the Country, twelve Days Journey from the Sea; and that *Seuthes*, now he had taken this Army into his Service, would be Master of the Sea-Coast: “Being therefore your Neighbour,

“ says he, it will be very much in his Power  
 “ to  
<sup>20</sup> *Επιψηφίσθω ταῦτα*. I have followed the Manuscript quoted by *Hutchinson*, rather than his Conjecture, though I think *ἐπιψηφίζεσθε*, in him, is much better than *ἐπιψηφίζετε* in *Leunclavius*; but *ἐπιψηφίζέσθω* seems to me to answer better to *λεγέτω*, that immediately precedes it.

“ to do you both Good, and Harm : So that  
 “ if you are wise, you will make a Present BOOK VII.  
 “ to him of what you have brought, which  
 “ will be laid out much more to your Ad-  
 “ vantage, than if you give it to *Medocus*,  
 “ who lives at so great a Distance from you :”  
 By this Means he prevail’d upon them. Af-  
 terwards, he came to *Timasion* of *Dardanus*,  
 hearing he had Cups, and <sup>21</sup> *Persian* Carpets,  
 and told him it was the Custom for those,  
 who were invited to Supper by *Seuthes*, to  
 make him Presents ; adding, that, if he be-  
 comes considerable in this Country, he will  
 be able both to restore you to yours, and to  
 enrich you, when you are there. In this  
 Manner he <sup>22</sup> procur’d for *Seuthes*, addres-  
 sing himself to each of them. When he  
 came to *Xenophon*, he said, “ You are not  
 “ only of the most considerable City, but  
 “ are, yourself, in the greatest Reputation with  
 “ *Seuthes*,

<sup>21</sup> Τάπιδας Βαρβαρίας. *Persian* Carpets have al-  
 ways been famous for their Beauty, for which Reason,  
 and because these Carpets were Part of the Spoils taken  
 by the *Greeks* from the *Persians*, I have ventur’d to  
 call them *Persian* Carpets, rather than *Barbaric* after  
*Milton*,

Where the gorgeous East, with richest Hand,  
 Show’rs on her Kings barbaric Pearl, and Gold.

Paradise  
 Lost, 2 B.

<sup>22</sup> Τοιαῦτα προμύνατο. Προμύναμενοι, προμνηστεύ-  
 μενοι. *Hefychius*. *D’Ablancourt* has left it out.

BOOK “ *Seuthes*, and may, possibly, desire to be  
 VII. “ Master of some Place of Strength with  
 “ Lands, in these Parts, as others of your  
 “ Countrymen are: It is therefore worth  
 “ your while to honour *Seuthes* in the most  
 “ magnificent Manner. I give you this Ad-  
 “ vice, because I wish you well; for I am sa-  
 “ tisfied the more your Presents exceed those  
 “ of your Companions, the more the Advan-  
 “ tages you will receive from *Seuthes*, will  
 “ exceed theirs.” When *Xenophon* heard  
 this, he was in great Perplexity; for he had  
 brought with him, from *Parium*, only one  
 Servant, and just Money enough for his  
 Journey.

THEN the most considerable of the *Thra-*  
*cians*, who were present, together with the  
*Greek* Generals, and Captains, and all the  
 Deputies of Towns, who were there, went  
 in to Supper; at which they plac’d them-  
 selves in a Ring. After that, every one of  
 the Guestshad a Tripod brought him: These  
 were about twenty in Number, full of Meat  
 cut in Pieces, and large leaven’d Loaves  
 were skewer’d to the Meat. The <sup>23</sup> Dishes  
 were

<sup>23</sup> Μάλιστα δὲ αἱ τράπεζαι κατὰ τὴν ξένον ἀεὶ  
 ἐτίθετο. *Leunclavius*, and *Hutchinson* have very pro-  
 perly,

were always plac'd before the Strangers BOOK  
VII.  
preferably to the rest of the Company; for  
that was their Custom. *Seuthes* then set  
the Example of what follows; he took the  
Loaves that lay before him, and, breaking  
them into small Pieces, threw them about  
to those he thought proper: He did the  
same by the Meat, leaving no more for  
himself than what serv'd for a Taste. The  
Rest, before whom the Meat was serv'd, did  
the same Thing. There was an *Arcadian*  
in Company, whose Name was *Aristus*,  
a great Eater: This Man, instead of employing  
his Time in throwing about the Victuals,  
took a Loaf of three <sup>24</sup> Chœnixes in his  
Hand, and, laying some Meat upon his Knees,  
eat his Supper. In the mean Time, they car-  
ried about Horns of Wine, and every body  
took one: When the Cup-bearer brought  
the Horn to *Aristus*, he, seeing *Xenophon*  
had

perly, I think, render'd *τράπεζαι* in this Place, *Fer-  
cula*; to support which, they quote a Passage out of  
*Julius Pollux*, where he says that *τράπεζαι* were also  
called the *Victuals*, that were plac'd upon the Tables. Julius Pol-  
lux, 6 B.  
There is a Passage in *Athenæus*, by which it appears  
the Word was understood in that Sense by every Body Segm. 84.  
Athenæus  
*πάντων τραπέζας καλόντων τὰς παραθήσεις ταύτας.* 11.  
Cicero Ep.  
Horace,  
4 B. Od. 5.  
From hence I imagine the *Latins* took their *secunda  
mensa*, & *altera mensæ*, for their *second Course*.  
<sup>24</sup> Τριχοίνικον ἄρτον. See the 85<sup>th</sup> Annotation up-  
on the first Book.

BOOK had done Supper, said, "Go, give it to him,  
VII. "he is at Leisure; I am not so yet." When

*Seuthes* heard him speak, he ask'd the Cup-bearer what he said, who told him; for he could speak *Greek*: Upon this, there was great laughing.

THE <sup>25</sup> Cup going round, a *Thracian* enter'd, leading in a white Horse, and, taking a Horn full of Wine, "*Seuthes!* says "he, I drink to you, and make you a Present of this Horse, with which you may "take any one you pursue, and, in a Retreat, "you will have no Reason to fear the Enemy." Another brought a Boy, which he, in the same Manner, presented, drinking to him, and another, Clothes, for his Wife. *Timasion*, drinking to him, made him a Present of a silver Cup, and a Carpet worth ten <sup>26</sup> Mines. Then one *Gnesippus*, an *Athenian*, rose up, and said, "There was a very good old "Custom, which ordains that those, who "have any Thing, shall make Presents to "the King, to shew their Respect; but "that the King shall make Presents to those, "who

<sup>25</sup> ΕΠΕΙ ΔΕ ΠΡΩΧΩΡΕΙ Ο ΠΟΤΟΣ. Ποτός μὲν τὸ πινόμενον, πότος δὲ τὸ συμπόσιον. *Suidas*.

<sup>26</sup> Ἀξίαν δέκα μνῶν. See the 11<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the first Book.

“ who have nothing. Let this Custom be Book  
 “ observed, says he, that I also may have VII.  
 “ something to present you with, and shew  
 “ my Respect.” *Xenophon* was at a loss  
 what to do; for he had the Honour done  
 him to be plac’d next to *Seuthes*: And *He-*  
*raclides* had order’d the Cup-bearer to give  
 him the Horn. However, he stood up bold-  
 ly (for by this Time he had drank<sup>27</sup> more  
 than usual) and, taking the Horn, said, “ O  
 “ *Seuthes*! I present you both with my  
 “ self, and with these my Companions, as  
 “ your faithful Friends: I am confident  
 “ none of them will refuse the Condition,  
 “ but all contend with me in their Zeal for  
 “ your Service. Here they now are, with a  
 “ View of asking no other Favour<sup>28</sup> of you,  
 “ but to undertake Labours, and Dangers  
 “ for your Sake. By whose Assistance, if  
 “ the Gods are favourable, you may become  
 “ Master of a large Tract of Country, by re-  
 “ covering that Part of it, which belong’d to  
 “ your paternal Kingdom, and conquering  
 “ the rest: By their Assistance also, you will  
 “ make your self Master of many Horses,  
 “ and

<sup>27</sup> Ὑποπεπωκώς. Ἀντὶ τοῦ μεθύσκεσθαι. *Suidas*.

<sup>28</sup> Προσέμενοι. Προσίσταται, ἀρέσκειται, προσδέχεται,  
 ἡδέως λαμβάνει. *Hesychius*.

BOOK “ and of many Men, and beautiful Women;  
 VII. “ whom you need not take away by Force;  
 “ on the contrary, they will come, and offer  
 “ themselves to you with Presents in their  
 “ Hands.” Upon this, *Seuthes* got up, and  
 pledg’d *Xenophon*, pouring <sup>29</sup> what remain’d  
 in the Horn upon the Person who sat next  
 to him. After this, some *Cerasuntæans*  
 came in: These sounded a Charge with  
 Pipes, and Trumpets made of raw Hides,  
 keeping Time, as if they plaid upon the  
<sup>30</sup> Magade. Upon this *Seuthes* himself got  
 up, and shouted in a warlike Manner, then  
 with great Agility, sprung out of the Place  
 where he stood, imitating a Man, who a-  
 voids a Dart: There came in also Buffoons.

WHEN it was about Sunset, the *Greeks*  
 rose up, and said it was Time to place the  
 Guards for the Night, and give the Word.

At

<sup>29</sup> Συγκατεσκεδάσαε. *Suidas*, upon the Word κατα-  
 σκεδάζειν, says it was a Custom among the *Thracians*,  
 when they had drunk as much Wine as they could,  
 to pour the rest upon the Clothes of the Company,  
 for which he quotes *Plato*; this, he says, they called  
 κατασκεδάζειν. It was necessary just to take Notice  
 of this ridiculous Custom, in Order to explain this  
 Passage of *Xenophon*.

Athenæus  
 4 B.  
 Strabo  
 10 B.

<sup>30</sup> Οιον μαγάδι. This musical Instrument is said  
 to have been a Kind of Flute. *Strabo* reckons it a-  
 mong those, whose Names were taken from the *Bar-*  
*barians*. It was probably an Instrument of War.

At the same Time, they desir'd *Seuthes* to Book  
give Orders that none of the *Thracians* VII.  
might come into the *Greek* Camp in the  
Night; "for, said they, some of that Nation  
"are our Enemies, though you are our  
"Friends." As they went out, *Seuthes* got  
up, shewing no Signs of being drunk, and  
going out also, he called the Generals to him,  
and said; "Gentlemen! the Enemy, as yet,  
"knows nothing of our Alliance; if, there-  
"fore, we fall upon them, before they are,  
"either upon their Guard against a Surprise,  
"or prepar'd for their Defence, it will be the  
"most effectual Means of gaining great  
"Booty, and taking many Prisoners." The  
Generals were of the same Opinion, and  
desir'd him to lead them. Then *Seuthes*  
said, "Do you make yourselves ready, and  
"stay for me; and, when it is Time, I'll come  
"back to you; and, taking the Targeteer's  
"and you with me, with the Assistance of  
"the Gods, I'll lead you against the Enemy."  
Upon this *Xenophon* said, "Consider then,  
"since we are to march by Night, whether  
"the *Greek* Custom is not preferable. In  
"the Day-Time, either the heavy-arm'd Men,  
"or the Horse march in the Van, according  
"to the Nature of the Ground; but, in the  
VOL. II.                      O                      "Night.



BOOK “ Night, it is always the Custom, among the  
 VII. “ *Greeks*, for the slowest Corps to lead the  
 “ Way. By this Means, the Army is less  
 “ subject to be separated, and the Men have  
 “ fewer Opportunities of stragling without  
 “ being taken Notice of; it often happening,  
 “ in the Night, that the Troops, when separated, fall upon one another, and, not being able to distinguish Friends, from Enemies, both do, and suffer great Damage.”  
*Seuthes* answer’d, “ You say well, and I’ll conform to your Custom; and will take Care you shall have Guides, such as, among the Oldest of my People, are best acquainted with the Country; while I bring up the Rear with the Horse: And if there is Occasion, I can soon come up to the Front.”  
 The *Athenians* gave the Word by Reason of their Alliance to *Seuthes*. After this, they went to Rest.

WHEN it was about Mid-night, *Seuthes* came to them with the Horse clad in their Coats of Mail, and the Targeteers with their Arms. After he had deliver’d the Guides to them, the heavy-arm’d Men march’d in the Van, the Targeteers followed, and the Horse brought up the Rear. As  
 soon

soon as it was Day, *Seuthes*, riding up to the Front, extoll'd the *Greek* Custom: BOOK VI.

“ For it has often happen'd to me, says he,  
 “ when I have been upon a March in the  
 “ Night, though with a few Troops, to  
 “ have my Horse separated from the Foot;  
 “ whereas now, at Break of Day we appear,  
 “ as we ought, all together. But do you  
 “ halt here, and repose yourselves, and  
 “ when I have taken a View of the Coun-  
 “ try, I'll come back to you.” Having said  
 this, he met with a Path, which led him to  
 the Top of a Mountain, where, coming to  
 a great deal of Snow, he examin'd the Road,  
 to see whether there were any Foot-steps of  
 Men, pointing either forward, or backward:  
 And finding the Way untrodden, he re-  
 turn'd presently, and said, “ Gentlemen!  
 “ our Design will succeed, God willing:  
 “ We shall surprize the People: But I'll  
 “ lead the Way with the Horse, that, if we  
 “ discover any one, he may not escape, and  
 “ give Notice to the Enemy: Do you  
 “ come after; and, if you are left behind,  
 “ follow the Track of the Horse. After we  
 “ have pass'd these Mountains, we shall  
 “ come to a great many rich Villages.”

BOOK VII. WHEN it was Noon, *Seuthes*, having taken a View of the Villages, rode back to the heavy-arm'd Men, and said, " I now propose to send the Horse to scour the Plain, and the Targeteers to attack the Villages: Do you follow as fast as you can, that, if they find any Resistance, you may support them." When *Xenophon* heard this, he alighted from his Horse: Upon which *Seuthes* said, " Why do you alight, when Expedition is requir'd?" The other answer'd, " I know that, by myself, I can be of no Service, besides, the heavy-arm'd Men will march with greater Speed, and Alacrity, if I lead them on Foot."

AFTER this *Seuthes*, and, with him, *Timasion*, with about forty of the *Greek* Horse, went away. Then *Xenophon* order'd those of each Company, who were under thirty Years of Age, and prepar'd for Expedition, to advance; and, with these, he ran forward; while *Cleanor* brought up the rest of the *Greeks*. When they were in the Villages, *Seuthes*, riding up to *Xenophon* with about fifty Horse, said, " What you foretold, has happen'd: The Men are taken; but our  
" Horse

“ Horſe have left me, and are gone away  
 “ without a Commander, ſome following  
 “ the Purſuit one Way, ſome another; and  
 “ I am afraid leſt the Enemy ſhould rally, and  
 “ do us ſome Miſchief: Some of us muſt alſo  
 “ remain in the Villages, for they are full of  
 “ Men.” *Xenophon* answer’d, “ With the  
 “ Troops I have, I will poſſeſs myſelf of the  
 “ Eminences. Do you order *Cleanor* to  
 “ extend his Line, in the Plain, againſt the  
 “ Villages.” After they had put theſe things  
 in Execution, they got together about one  
 thouſand Slaves, two thouſand Oxen, and  
 ten thouſand Head of other Cattle: And  
 there they quarter’d that Night.

THE next Day, after *Seuthes* had burn’d  
 all the Villages, without leaving a ſingle  
 Houſe (in order to terrify the reſt by letting  
 them ſee what they were to expect, if they  
 refus’d to ſubmit) he return’d; and ſent the  
 Booty to *Perintheus* to be ſold by *Hera-*  
*clides*, that he might, by that Means, raiſe  
 Money to pay the Soldiers. In the mean  
 Time *Seuthes*, and the *Greeks* encamp’d in  
 the Plain of the *Thynians*; but the Inha-  
 bitants left their Houſes, and fled to the  
 Mountains.

BOOK VII. HERE fell a great Snow, and the Cold was so severe, that the Water the Servants brought in for Supper, and the Wine in the Vessels, were frozen, and the Noses, and Ears of many of the *Greeks* were parch'd with the Cold. This explain'd to us the Reason, that induces the *Thracians* to wear <sup>31</sup> Foxes Skins over their

Herodotus  
in Poly-  
hymnia.

<sup>31</sup> Τὰς ἀλωπεκίδας ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φορεῖσι καὶ τοῖς ὤσι. After *Xerxes* had pass'd the *Hellepont* with his prodigious Army, he reviewed them in the Plain of *Doriscus*; among his Troops were *Thracians*, who, according to *Herodotus*, wore Foxes Skins upon their Heads, and whose Dress he describes not unlike That of the *Thracians*, with whom *Xenophon* was acquainted; Whether these *Thracians* wore Foxes Skins upon their Heads to preserve them from the Cold, as our Author seems to think, or whether they wore them by way of Armour, and as a Distinction in War, I shall not determine; but we find that many Nations, inhabiting the warmest Climates, wore the Skins of several Beasts upon their Heads, when they went to War; upon those Occasions, the upper Jaw, or Forehead of the Animal was fix'd to the Top of their Heads, I suppose, to give them a fierce Look: *Herodotus* tells us, that, in the same Army, the *Indians*, whom he calls the *Asiatick Ethiopians*, οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Αἰθίοπες, wore, upon their Heads, the Skins of Horses Heads, with the Mane flowing, and the Ears erect. I can't help mentioning, upon this Occasion, a Passage of *Diodorus Siculus*, because it shews the Origin of a very great Folly committed by a very wise People, I mean the Worship of *Anubis* by the *Egyptians*; he tells us that *Anubis*, and *Macedon*, two Sons of *Osiris*, attended him in his Expedition to the *Indies*, and that their Armour was taken from Animals, that bore some Resemblance to their Fortitude, *Anubis* wearing the Skin of a Dog, and *Macedon* That of a Wolf; for which Reason, he says,

Ib.

Diod. Sic.  
1 B.

their Heads and Ears, and Vests, that not only B O O K  
VII.  
cover their Breasts, but their Thighs also, with Cassocks reaching down to their Feet, when they ride, instead of Cloaks. *Seuthes* sent some of the Prisoners to the Mountains, to acquaint the Inhabitants that, if they did not come down, and, returning to their Habitations, submit to him, he would burn their Villages also, together with their Corn, and then they must perish with Hunger. Upon this, the Women, and Children, with the old Men, came down, but the younger Sort encamp'd in the Villages under the Mountain: Which when *Seuthes* observ'd, he desir'd *Xenophon* to take with him the youngest of the heavy-arm'd Men, and follow him; and, leaving their Camp in the Night, they arriv'd by Break of Day at the Villages: But the greatest Part of the Inhabitants quitted them; for the Mountain was near. However, *Seuthes* order'd all they took to be pierc'd with Darts.

## O 4

## T H E R E

says, these Animals were worshipp'd by the *Egyptians*. The *Roman Signiferi*, upon *Trajan's* Pillar, have most of them their Heads, and Shoulders cover'd with the Skins of Lions, something like *Aventinus* in *Virgil*,

*Ipse pedes tegmen torquens immane leonis  
Terribili impexum setâ cum dentibus albis  
Indutus capiti.*—————

*Virgil,*  
7 B.

BOOK THERE was present an *Olynthian*, his  
 VII. Name *Episthenes*, who was a Lover of  
 Boys: This Man, seeing a handsome Boy  
 just in his Bloom, with a Buckler in his  
 Hand, going to be put to Death, ran to *Xenophon*, and begg'd of him to intercede for so  
 beautiful a Youth. Upon this, *Xenophon*  
 went to *Seuthes*, and desir'd he would not  
 put the Boy to Death, acquainting him, at the  
 same Time, with the Character of *Episthenes*,  
 and that he once rais'd a Company, in which  
 he consider'd nothing but the Beauty of his  
 Men; at the Head of whom he always be-  
 hav'd himself with Brayery. Hereupon, *Seu-  
 thes* said, " O *Episthenes*! are you willing  
 " to die for this Boy?" The other, stretching  
 out his Neck, answer'd, " Strike, if the Boy  
 " commands; and will think himself oblig'd  
 " to me." *Seuthes* then ask'd the Boy whe-  
 ther he should strike *Episthenes*, instead of  
 him. This the Boy would not suffer, but  
 begg'd he would kill neither. Upon this,  
*Episthenes*, embracing the Boy, said, " Now  
 " *Seuthes*! you must contend with me for  
 " him; for I will not part with the Boy."  
 This made *Seuthes* laugh; who, leaving this  
 Subject, thought proper they should encamp  
 where they were, to the End the People,  
 who

who had fled to the Mountains, might not Bo  
be subsisted out of these Villages. So he, de- V  
scending a little Way into the Plain, encamp'd  
there ; and *Xenophon*, with the chosen Men,  
quarter'd in the Village, that lay nearest the  
Foot of the Hill, and the rest of the *Greeks*,  
not far from him, among those they call the  
Mountain *Thracians*.

A few Days after, the *Thracians*, coming  
down from the Mountains to *Seuthes*, treated  
concerning Hostages, and a Peace. Hereupon,  
*Xenophon* went to him, and let him know  
that the Post they were in, was very disad-  
vantageous, that the Enemy was not far off,  
and that he had rather encamp abroad in any  
other Place, than in a Strait, where they were  
in Danger of being destroyed : But *Seuthes*  
bid him fear nothing, and shewed him their  
Hostages, then in his Custody. Some of  
the *Thracians*, coming down from the Moun-  
tain, besought *Xenophon* also to assist them  
in obtaining a Peace. He promis'd his Assis-  
tance, and encourag'd them with this Assu-  
rance, that, if they submitted to *Seuthes*, they  
had nothing to fear. But they, it seems,  
were Spies sent to amuse them with these  
Proposals.

THIS



BOOK THIS pass'd in the Day-Time: The fol-  
 lowing Night, the *Thynians* came down  
 from the Mountain, and attacked them:  
 Their Leaders were the Masters of every  
 House, it being difficult for any other to  
 find the Houses in the dark; because they  
 were surrounded with great Palisades to se-  
 cure the Cattle. When they came to the  
 Door of each Habitation, some threw in  
 Darts, others Clubs, which they carried,  
 with a Design, as they said, of breaking off  
 the Points of the Pikes; and some were  
 employed in setting Fire to the Houses:  
 These call'd out to *Xenophon* by Name, to  
 come out, and meet his Fate, threatening, if  
 he refus'd, to burn him in the House.

By this Time, the Fire came through the  
 Roof, and *Xenophon* and his Men were  
 within, with their Corsets on, their Shields,  
 and Swords in their Hands, and their Helmets  
 upon their Heads: When *Silanus Maces-  
 tius*, a Youth of eighteen Years of Age,  
 gave the Signal by sounding a Trumpet: Up-  
 on which, the rest also, at once, rush'd out of  
 the other Houses with their Swords drawn.  
 Whereupon, the *Thracians* fled, covering  
 their Backs with their Bucklers, according

to their Custom; and some of them, endeavouring to leap over the Palisades, were taken hanging on them, their Bucklers being set fast; others, missing the Way out, were killed, and the *Greeks* pursued them out of the Village. However, a Party of the *Thynians*, coming back in the Dark, threw Darts at some of the *Greeks*, as they ran by a House that was on Fire, taking their Aim from an obscure Place at those who were in the Light, and wounded *Hieronymus*, *Enodias*, and *Theagenes*, a *Locran*, all Captains; but nobody was killed, though some had their Clothes, and Baggage burn'd. *Seuthes* came to their Relief with seven Horse, the first he met, bringing with him a *Thracian* Trumpeter, who, from the Time the other found they were attack'd, and set out to relieve them, continued sounding 'till the Action was over; which did not a little contribute to terrify the Enemy: When he came, he embrac'd the *Greeks*, saying he expected to find a great Number of them slain.

AFTER this, *Xenophon* desir'd *Seuthes* to deliver to him the Hostages, and march up to the Mountain with him, if he thought proper:

BOOK proper: If not, that he would leave it to  
 VII. his Conduct. The next Day, therefore, *Seuthes* deliver'd to him the Hostages, who were elderly Men, the most considerable, as they said, of the Mountain *Thracians*, and he himself set out with his own Forces. By this Time, the Army of *Seuthes* was encreas'd to three Times the Number it before consist'd of; for many of the *Odrysians*, being inform'd of what *Seuthes* was doing, came down to his Assistance. When the *Thynians* saw, from the Mountain, great Numbers of heavy-arm'd Men, of Targeteers, and of Horse, they came down, and sued for Peace; promising to do every Thing that was requir'd of them, and desir'd *Seuthes* would take Pledges for their Fidelity. He, calling *Xenophon* to him, inform'd him of what they said, letting him know, at the same Time, that he would not make Peace, if he desir'd to take Revenge of them for attacking him. *Xenophon* answer'd, that he was sufficiently reveng'd, if these People were, instead of Free-men, to become Slaves: But, withal, advis'd him, for the future, to take, for Hostages, those who had most Power to do him Harm, and to let the old Men stay at home. All the  
*Thracians,*

*Thracians*, therefore, in this Part of the Book  
Country, submitted to *Seuthes*. VII.

THEY next march'd into the Country, called the *Delta*, belonging to the *Thracians*, who lie above *Byzantium*. This Country did not belong to the Kingdom of *Masades*, but to That of *Teres*, the *Odrysian*, one of their ancient Kings: Here they found *Heracles*, with the Money he had rais'd by the Sale of the Booty. And here *Seuthes*, having order'd three Yokes of Mules (for there were no more) and several of Oxen to be brought out, sent for *Xenophon*, and desir'd he would accept the first, and distribute the rest among the Generals, and Captains; but *Xenophon* said, " I shall be satisfied, if I receive your Favours another Time, give these to the Generals, and the Captains, who, with me, have attended you in this Expedition." Upon which, *Timasion*, the *Dardanian*, receiv'd one Yoke of Mules, *Cleanor*, the *Orchomenian*, another, and *Phryniscus*, the *Achaian*, the third. The Yokes of Oxen he distributed among the Captains; but gave the Army no more than twenty Days Pay, though the Month was expir'd: For *Heracles* said he could not  
sell

BOOK sell the Booty for more. *Xenophon* was  
 VII. concern'd at this, and said, " O *Heraclides* !  
 " you do not seem to have so great a Re-  
 " gard for *Seuthes*, as you ought to have :  
 " If you had, you would have brought the  
 " Army their full Pay ; though you had  
 " taken up at Interest, and even sold your  
 " own Clothes to raise as much as would  
 " have compleated it, if you could not get  
 " the Money by any other Means.

THIS Reproach gave *Heraclides* great Uneasiness, and made him apprehend he should lose the Favour of *Seuthes*; and, from that Day, he labour'd all he could to give *Seuthes* ill Impressions of *Xenophon*; on whom not only the Soldiers laid the Blame of their not receiving their Pay, but *Seuthes* also resented his Earnestness in demanding it. And whereas, before, he was, for ever, telling him that, when he arriv'd at the Sea, he would put him in Possession of <sup>32</sup> *Bisante*, *Garus*, and *Neon Teichus* ; from this Time, he never mention'd any Thing of

<sup>32</sup> Βισάντιον, καὶ Γάρου καὶ Νέον Τείχος. Towns of *Thrace* near the Sea ; if the Reader pleases to turn to the first Annotation upon this Book, he will find that the last has nothing to do with the Wall built by *Dercylidas*, for that was not built 'till the year after *Xenophon* engag'd the *Greeks* in the Service of *Seuthes*.

of that Kind : For *Heraclides*, upon this Book  
Occasion, had also Recourse to Calumny, VII.  
suggesting that it was not safe to intrust  
Places of Strength with a Person who was  
at the Head of an Army.

UPON this, *Xenophon* consider'd with himself what was to be done <sup>33</sup> about pursuing their Expedition against the upper *Thracians*; when *Heraclides*, carrying the rest of the Generals to *Seuthes*, desir'd them to assure him that they could lead the Army, as well as *Xenophon*, and promis'd that, in a few Days, he would give them their Pay compleat for two Months, advising them, at the same Time, to continue in the Service of *Seuthes*. Upon which, *Timasion* said, " If you would give me five Months  
" Pay, I would not serve without *Xeno-*  
" *phon*;" and *Phryniscus* and *Cleanor* said the same Thing.

THIS made *Seuthes* chide *Heraclides* for not calling in *Xenophon*: So they sent  
for

<sup>33</sup> Περὶ τῷ ἔτι ἄνω στρατεύεσθαι. D'Ablancourt understands this concerning his going over into Asia; but I have chosen rather to make it relate to the Expedition of *Seuthes*, and the Greeks, against those *Thracians*, who inhabited above *Byzantium*; in which I am supported by *Leunclavius*, and *Hutchinson*.

BOOK for him alone; but, he being sensible this  
 VII: was an Artifice in *Heraclides*, contriv'd to  
 create a Jealousy in the rest of the Generals,  
 took not only all the Generals, but likewise  
 all the Captains along with him: And, all  
 of them approving of what *Seuthes* propos'd,  
 they pursued their Expedition, and, marching  
 through the Country of the *Thracians*; call'd  
 the *Melinophagi*, with the *Euxine* Sea on  
 their right Hand, they arriv'd at <sup>34</sup> *Salmydessus*. Here many Ships, upon their Arrival in  
 the *Euxine* Sea, strike, and are driven a-  
 shore, the Coast being full of Shoals, that  
 run a considerable Way into the Sea. The  
*Thracians*, who inhabit this Coast, raise Pil-  
 lars, in the Nature of Bound Stones, and every  
 Man plunders the Wreck, that is cast upon  
 his own Coast. It is said that, before they  
 erected these Pillars, many of them lost their  
 Lives by quarrelling with one another a-  
 bout the Plunder. In this Place are found  
 many Beds, Boxes, Books, and several other  
 Things, which Sailors usually carry in their  
 Chests. The Army, after they had subdued  
 this People, march'd back: That of *Seuthes*  
 was

Arrian <sup>34</sup> Σαλμυδησσόν. *Salmydessus* was a Sea-Port lying  
 Periplus of upon the *Euxine* Sea, it is mention'd by *Arrian* in his  
 the *Euxine Periplus*; the River, the Town, and the Bay had all  
 Sea. the same Name.

was now grown superior in Number to the *Greeks*; for many more of the *Odryfians* were come down to him, and the *Thracians*, as fast as they submitted, join'd the Army. They now lay encamp'd in a Plain above *Selymbria*, about fifty Stadia from the Sea: As yet no Pay appear'd, and not only the Soldiers were displeas'd at *Xenophon*; but *Seuthes* himself was no longer dispos'd in his Favour; and whenever he desir'd to be admitted to him, Business of many Kinds was pretended.

Two Months were now very near elaps'd, when *Charminus*, the *Lacedæmonian*, and *Polynicus* arriv'd from *Thimbron*. They gave an Account that the *Lacedæmonians* had resolv'd to make War upon *Tissaphernes*, and that *Thimbron* was sail'd from *Greece* with that Design. They added that he had Occasion for this Army, and that every common Soldier should have a <sup>35</sup> Darick a Month, the Captains two, and the Generals four. Upon the Arrival of the *Lacedæmonians*, *Heraclides*, hearing they were come for the Army, immediately told *Seuthes* it was a happy Incident; “ for,

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“ says

<sup>35</sup> Δαρεικός. See the eleventh Annotation upon the first Book.



BOOK “ says he, the *Lacedæmonians* are in Want of  
 VII. “ the Army, and you are not so. In resign-  
 ing it, you will confer an Obligation  
 “ on them, and the Soldiers will no longer  
 “ ask you for their Pay; but will leave the  
 “ Country.”

*SEUTHES* hearing this, order'd the *Lacedæmonians* to be brought in: And, upon their saying they came for the Army, he told them he was willing to resign it, and desir'd they would account him their Friend, and Ally: He also invited them to his Table pursuant to the Laws of Hospitality, and gave them a magnificent Entertainment. But he did not invite *Xenophon*, or any one of the other Generals. The *Lacedæmonians* enquiring what kind of Man *Xenophon* was, he answer'd that he was, in other respects; no ill Man, but a Friend to the Soldiers; which hurts him. But, said they, is he a popular Man with them? Altogether so, says *Heraclides*. Then, answer'd the *Lacedæmonians*, will not he oppose our carrying away the Army? If you call the Soldiers together, says *Heraclides*, and promise them Pay, they will have no Regard to him, but will quickly follow you.

How, replied they, shall they be assembled for that Purpose? Early to-morrow Morning, says *Heracrides*, we will bring you to them, and I am confident, added he, that, as soon as they see you, they will chearfully assemble. This was the Result of that Day's Business. BOOK VII.

THE next, *Seuthes*, and *Heracrides* brought the *Lacedæmonians* to the Army, which assembled for that Purpose. These inform'd them, that the *Lacedæmonians* had resolv'd to make War upon *Tissaphernes*, " who, said they, has injur'd you. If therefore " you engage with us, you will both revenge " yourselves of an Enemy, and receive each " of you a Darick a Month, the Captains two, " and the Generals four." This was well receiv'd by the Soldiers; and, presently, one of the *Arcadians* rose up to accuse *Xenophon*. *Seuthes* was also present, being desirous to know the Result, and, for that Purpose, had plac'd himself within hearing with his Interpreter; though he himself understood most Things, that were spoken in *Greek*. The *Arcadian* said; " Know then, O *Lacedæmonians*! that we should, long since, " have engag'd ourselves in your Service,

BOOK “ if *Xenophon* had not prevail’d upon us  
 VII. “ to come hither ; where, though we have  
 “ been upon Duty both Night, and Day,  
 “ during this severe Winter, we have <sup>36</sup> ac-  
 “ quir’d nothing ; while he enjoys the Re-  
 “ ward of our Labour, and *Seuthes* enriches  
 “ him personally, and deprives us of our  
 “ Pay : So that, continued he, if I could  
 “ see this Man ston’d to Death, and punish’d  
 “ for leading us about, I should think I had  
 “ receiv’d my Pay, and no longer regret  
 “ my Labour.” After him, another got up,  
 and then another : Upon which, *Xenophon*  
 spoke as follows ;

“ THERE is nothing a Man ought not  
 “ to expect, since I find my self accus’d by  
 “ you for That, in which my Conscience tells  
 “ me

<sup>36</sup> Οὐδὲν πεπᾶσθαι. Πεπᾶσθαι, κεκτῆσθαι. *Hesychius*. Both which, in my Opinion, signify much oftner  
*to acquire* than *to possess* ; I look upon the Word to have  
 the same Sense also in that very moral, and sensible Epi-  
 gram of *Solon*, the *Athenian* Legislator, as quoted by *Plu-*  
*tarch*, in his Life of him,

Χρήματα δ’ ἰμέριω μὲν ἔχειν, ἀδίκως δὲ πεπᾶσθαι  
 Οὐκ ἐθέλω, πάντως ὕστερον ἦλθε δίκη.

But, as πεπᾶσθαι signifies also *to possess*, I will not  
 blame *Hutchinson* for translating it, upon this Occa-  
 sion, *nihil possidemus*, though I have translated it other-  
 wise my self : A little farther it signifies, beyond all  
 Doubt, *to possess*.

“ me I have had all the Zeal in the World  
 “ for your Service. I was already set out  
 “ in order to go Home, when I turn’d back,  
 “ be assur’d, not because I heard you were  
 “ in Prosperity, but rather because I was  
 “ inform’d you were in Difficulties, with  
 “ this Intent that I might serve you, if it  
 “ was in my Power. When I came to the  
 “ Army, though *Seuthes* sent several Mes-  
 “ sengers to me with many Promises, in  
 “ Case I prevail’d upon you to go to him,  
 “ yet I never endeavour’d it, as you your-  
 “ selves know; but led you to that Place,  
 “ from whence I thought you would have  
 “ the quickest Passage into *Asia*: This I  
 “ looked upon as a Measure the most agree-  
 “ able both to your Interest, and Inclination.  
 “ But, when *Aristarchus* arriv’d with the  
 “ Gallies, and prevented your Passage, I  
 “ then (as it became me) called you toge-  
 “ ther, that we might consider what was to  
 “ be done. Upon that Occasion you heard,  
 “ on one side, *Aristarchus* ordering you to  
 “ go to the *Chersonesus*, and, on the other,  
 “ *Seuthes* proposing Terms to engage you  
 “ in his Service, when all of you declar’d  
 “ you would go with *Seuthes*, and all gave  
 “ your Votes for it. Say then, if I com-

BOOK  
 VII.

BOOK “mitted any Crime in carrying you whil-  
 VII. “ther you all resolv’d to go. If, when  
 “ *Seuthes* began to break his Promise con-  
 “cerning your Pay, I then commended  
 “him, you would have Reason both to ac-  
 “cuse, and hate me : But if I, who was  
 “before his greatest Friend, am now his  
 “greatest Enemy, how can you any longer  
 “with Justice blame me, who have given  
 “you the Preference to *Seuthes*, for those  
 “very Things, about which I quarrel with  
 “him? Possibly, you may say that I have  
 “receiv’d your Pay of *Seuthes*, and that  
 “all I say is Artifice: But, is it not plain,  
 “that, if *Seuthes* paid me any Thing, it  
 “was not with a View of being depriv’d  
 “of that Part of your Pay which he gave  
 “me, and of paying you the rest? On  
 “the contrary, if he had given me any  
 “Thing, I dare say, his Design would have  
 “been to excuse himself from paying you  
 “a large Sum, by giving me a small one.  
 “If therefore you are of Opinion, that  
 “this is the Case, it is in your Power pre-  
 “sently to render this <sup>37</sup> Collusion useless  
 “to both of us, by <sup>38</sup> insisting upon your  
 “Pay :

<sup>37</sup> Προξίς. Προδοσία. *Suidas*.

<sup>38</sup> Πράττειν αὐτὸν τὰ χεῖματα. Πράττειν, ἀπα-  
 ρεῖσθαι. *Phavorinus*.

“ Pay : For it is evident that *Seuthes*, if I have  
“ receiv’d a Bribe from him, will, with Justice, BOOK VII.  
“ redemand it, when I fail in performing the  
“ Contract, in Consideration of which I was  
“ brib’d. But my Conscience tells me that  
“ I am far from having received any Thing,  
“ that belongs to you : For I swear by all the  
“ Gods, and Goddeſſes, that I have not  
“ even received from *Seuthes* what he  
“ promis’d me in Particular. He is pre-  
“ ſent himſelf, and, as he hears me, he  
“ knows whether I am guilty of Perjury,  
“ or not : And, that you may ſtill have  
“ more Reason to wonder, I alſo ſwear  
“ that I have not only receiv’d leſs than the  
“ reſt of the Generals, but even than ſome  
“ of the Captains. For what Reason then  
“ did I do this ? I flatter’d myſelf, Gen-  
“ tlemen ! that the greater Share I had of  
“ this Man’s Poverty, the greater I ſhould  
“ have of his Friendſhip, when it was in  
“ his Power to ſhew it : But, I ſee him now  
“ in Proſperity, and, at the ſame Time, diſ-  
“ cover his Temper. Poſſibly, ſome may  
“ ſay, are you not then aſham’d to be thus  
“ ſtupidly deceiv’d ? I ſhould, indeed, be  
“ aſham’d to be thus deceiv’d by an Enemy ;  
“ but, in my Opinion, there is a greater Shame

BOOK " in deceiving a Friend, than in being de-  
 VII. " ceiv'd by him. If it is allowed to be  
 " upon one's Guard against a Friend, I know  
 " you have all been very careful not to  
 " give this Man a just Pretence to refuse  
 " the Payment of what he promis'd: For  
 " we have neither done him any Injury,  
 " neither have we hurt his Affairs through  
 " Negligence, or, through Fear, declin'd any  
 " Enterprize he propos'd to us. But, you  
 " will say, we ought then to have taken  
 " some Assurance, that, although he had  
 " been desirous to deceive us, he might  
 " not even have had it in his Power. Hear  
 " then what I should never have mention'd  
 " before him, unless you had shewn your  
 " selves either intirely inconsiderate, or very  
 " ungrateful to me. You remember un-  
 " der what Difficulties you labour'd, from  
 " which I extricated you by carrying you  
 " to *Seuthes*. When you offer'd to go  
 " into *Perinthus*, did not *Aristarchus*, the  
 " *Lacedæmonian*, shut the Gates against  
 " you? Did not you, upon that, encamp  
 " in the open Field? Was not this in the  
 " Middle of Winter? Was there not a  
 " Scarcity of Provisions in the Market, and  
 " a Scarcity of the Means to purchase them?  
 " In

“ In the mean Time, you were under a Book  
 “ Necessity of staying in *Thrace*, (for the VII.-  
 “ Gallies lay at Anchor ” to observe your  
 “ Motions, and hinder your Passage,) and,  
 “ while you staid, you staid in an Enemy’s  
 “ Country, where great Numbers both of  
 “ Horse, and Targeteers were ready to op-  
 “ pose you. It is true, we had heavy-arm’d  
 “ Men, who, by going to the Villages, in a  
 “ Body, might, possibly, provide themselves  
 “ with a small Quantity of Corn, but we  
 “ were not prepar’d to pursue the Enemy,  
 “ or supply ourselves with Slaves, and Cattle.  
 “ For, at my Return, I found neither the  
 “ Horse, nor Targeteers, any longer, in a  
 “ Body. While, therefore, you were in so  
 “ great Necessity, if, without even insisting  
 “ upon any Pay, I had procur’d *Seuthes* to  
 “ become your Ally, who had both Horse,  
 “ and Targeteers, which you were in Want  
 “ of, do you think I should have made  
 “ ill Terms for you ? It was owing to their  
 “ Assistance that you not only found greater  
 “ Quantities of Corn in the Villages, the  
 “ *Thracians* being thereby oblig’d to pre-  
 “ cipitate their Flight, but had also your  
 “ Share

39 Τριήρεις ἐφορμῆσαι. Εφορμεῖν. Ενεδρεύειν ἐν  
 πλοίοις. *Suidas*.



BOOK " Share both of Cattle, and Slaves. From  
 VII. " the Time also we had the Assistance of  
 " these Horse, we saw no Enemy, though,  
 " before, they boldly haras'd us both with  
 " their Horse, and Targeteers, and, by hin-  
 " dering us from going off in small Par-  
 " ties, prevented our supplying ourselves  
 " with Provisions in any Quantity. But,  
 " if the Person, whose Assistance procur'd  
 " you this Security, has not also paid you  
 " very considerably for being secure, can  
 " you look upon This as a moving Cala-  
 " mity? And, for This, do you think your  
 " selves oblig'd, by no Means, to suffer Me  
 " to live? But, in what Circumstances are  
 " You now you are leaving this Country?  
 " After you have pass'd the Winter in  
 " Plenty, have you not, as an Accession  
 " to this Advantage, the Money you have  
 " receiv'd from *Seuthes*? For you have  
 " liv'd at the Expence of the Enemy: And,  
 " while you have been thus employed, none  
 " of you have either been killed, or taken  
 " Prisoners. If you have gain'd some Repu-  
 " tation against the *Barbarians* in *Asia*, is not  
 " that entire, and have you not added a  
 " new Glory to it by the Conquest of the  
 " *European Thracians*? I own I think you  
 " ought

“ ought to return Thanks to the Gods for Book  
 “ those very Things, as for so many Blessings VII.  
 “ fings, for which you are displeas’d with  
 “ me. This is the Situation of your Af-  
 “ fairs : Consider now, I beg of you, That  
 “ of mine. When I first set sail in order  
 “ to return Home, I went away attended  
 “ with great Praise from you, and, through  
 “ you, with Reputation from the rest of  
 “ Greece : I had also the Confidence of  
 “ the *Lacedæmonians* : (otherwise they  
 “ would not have sent me back to you)  
 “ Now, I go away suspected by the *Lace-*  
 “ *dæmonians* through your Means, and  
 “ hated by *Seuthes* upon your Account,  
 “ whom I propos’d, by uniting my Services  
 “ to yours, to have made an honourable  
 “ Refuge both to myself, and my Chil-  
 “ dren, if I should have any : While you,  
 “ for whose Sake chiefly I have made my  
 “ self odious, and that to Persons far more  
 “ powerful than myself ; while you, I say,  
 “ for whom I cease not, even now, to  
 “ procure all the Advantages I am able,  
 “ entertain such Thoughts of me. You  
 “ have me in your Power, I neither fled  
 “ from you, nor endeavour’d it ; and, if  
 “ you do what you say, know that you  
 “ will

BOOK " will put to Death a Man, who has often  
 VII. " watch'd for your Safety; who has under-  
 gone many Labours, and Dangers with  
 " you, while he not only did his own  
 " Duty, but That of others; who, by the  
 " Favour of the Gods, has with you rais'd  
 " many Trophies of the *Barbarians* De-  
 " feats, and who labour'd, to the utmost  
 " of his Power, to engage you to make  
 " none of the *Greeks* your Enemies. For  
 " you are now at Liberty to go whither-  
 " soever you please, either by Sea, or Land,  
 " without Controul. This then is the  
 " Season, when there is so great an Ap-  
 " pearance of Prosperity; now you are go-  
 " ing to sail for a Country, where you  
 " have long since desir'd to be; when those,  
 " who are most powerful, want your As-  
 " sistance; when Pay is offer'd, and the  
 " *Lacedemonians*, who are allowed to be  
 " the best Generals, are come to command  
 " you; this, I say, you think the proper  
 " Season to put me to Death. You did  
 " not think fit to do it, when we were  
 " in Difficulties, O Men of admirable Me-  
 " mories! Then you called me Father,  
 " and promis'd ever to remember me as  
 " your Benefactor. However, those who  
 " are

“ are now come to command you, are  
 “ not void of Sense; so that, I believe,  
 “ your Behaviour to me will not recom- BOOK VII.  
 “ mend you to them.” *Xenophon* said no  
 more.

THEN *Charminus*, the *Lacedæmonian*,  
 rose up, and spoke in the following Man-  
 ner; “ Gentlemen! You seem to have no  
 “ just Cause of Displeasure against this Man;  
 “ since I myself can give Testimony in his  
 “ Favour: For *Seuthes*, when *Polynicus*  
 “ and I enquir’d what kind of Man *Xeno-*  
 “ *phon* was, had nothing else to lay to his  
 “ Charge, but that he was a great Friend  
 “ to the Soldiers, which, says he, hurts  
 “ him both with regard to the *Lacedæ-*  
 “ *monians*, and to my self.” After him,  
*Eurylochus* of *Lusi*, an *Arcadian*, got up,  
 and said: “ My Opinion is, O *Lacedæmo-*  
 “ *nians*! that the first Act of Generalship  
 “ you exercise should be to obtain our Pay  
 “ of *Seuthes*, either with, or without his  
 “ Consent; and that, ’till then, you ought  
 “ not to carry us away.” *Polycrates*, the  
*Athenian*, next rose up, and spoke in Fa-  
 vour of *Xenophon*: “ Gentlemen! says he,  
 “ I see *Heracrides* also present in the As-  
 “ sembly,

BOOK “sembley, who, having receiv’d the Booty  
 VII. “we acquir’d by our Labour, and sold it,  
 { “has neither paid the 4<sup>o</sup> Money to *Seu-*  
 “*thes*, nor to us; but, having robbed both,  
 “still keeps Possession of it. If, therefore,  
 “we are wise, let us apprehend him: For  
 “this Man is no *Thracian*; but being him-  
 “self a *Greek*, does an Injury to *Greeks*.”

*HERACLIDES* hearing this, was  
 Thunder-struck, and, coming to *Seuthes*,  
 said, “If we are wise, we shall withdraw our-  
 “selves out of the Power of these People :”  
 So they mounted on Horse-back, and rode  
 off to their own Camp: From whence  
*Seuthes*

4<sup>o</sup> Τὰ γινόμενα. I cannot agree with *Hutchinson*  
 that this Word is taken by *Thucydides*, in the Passage  
 quoted by him, nearly in the same Sense our Author  
 takes it here: In the Passage, quoted by him out of  
 Thucydi- *Thucydides*, that Author says the *Athenian* Tyrants,  
 des, 6 B. *Hippias*, and *Hipparchus*, adorn’d the City, carried on  
 the Wars, and perform’d the Sacrifices by exacting on-  
 ly the twentieth Part of the Product of the Country  
 from the *Athenians*, Αθηναίους εἰκοσθὴν μόνον πρᾶσσόμε-  
 νοι τῶν γιγνομένων, which Signification of the Word is  
 Meursius put out of all Dispute by what *Meursius* says of the Tax  
 in Pisistr. of the tenth Part of the Product of the Country im-  
 c. 6, 7, 9. pos’d upon the *Athenians* by *Pisistratus*, which he calls  
 δεκάτην τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γενομένων: In the Passage,  
 therefore, of *Thucydides* τὰ γινόμενα signifies the Pro-  
 duct of the Country, but here it signifies, as *Hutchin-*  
*son* himself, and all the other Translators have render’d  
 it, the Money rais’d by the Sale of the Booty.

*Seuthes* sent *Ebozelmius*, his Interpreter, to *Xenophon*, to desire him to remain in his Service, with a thousand of the heavy-arm'd Men, assuring him, at the same Time, that he would give him the Places of Strength near the Sea, and every Thing else he had promis'd him. To this he added, as a Secret, that he was inform'd by *Polynicus*, that, if he put himself in the Power of the *Lacedæmonians*, he would certainly be put to Death by *Thimbron*. Many other Persons also, between whom, and *Xenophon*, there was an Intercourse of Hospitality, gave him Notice, that he lay under a Suspicion, and ought to be upon his Guard. *Xenophon*, hearing this, offer'd two Victims to <sup>41</sup> *Jupiter* the King, and consulted him whether it were better, and more advantageous for him to stay with *Seuthes*, upon the Terms he propos'd, or to depart with the Army; and *Jupiter* signified to him that he ought to depart.

AFTER that, *Seuthes* encamp'd at a greater Distance, and the *Greeks* quarter'd in the Villages, from whence they might get

<sup>41</sup> Τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βασιλεῖ. See the 12<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the 6<sup>th</sup> Book.

BOOK VII. get most Provisions, before they return'd to the Sea: These Villages *Seuthes* had given to *Medofades*; who, seeing every Thing in them consum'd by the *Greeks*, resented it; and, taking with him an *Odrygian*, a Man of the greatest Power of all those who had come from the *Upper Thracia* to join *Seuthes*; and about fifty Horse, came to the *Greek Army*, and called to *Xenophon* to come to him, who, taking some of the Captains, and other proper Persons, went to him. Then *Medofades* said; " You do us an Injury, O *Xenophon*! in laying waste our Villages. Wherefore, we give you Notice, I in the Name of *Seuthes*, and this Man from *Medocus* King of the *Upper Thrace*, to leave the Country: Otherwise, we shall not allow you to remain here; and, if you continue to infest our Territories, we shall treat you as Enemies."

WHEN *Xenophon* heard this, he said; " What you say is of such a Nature, that 'tis even a Pain to me to give an Answer to it: However, I shall return one for the Information of this Youth, that he may be acquainted both with your Behaviour,

“ haviour, and with ours. Before we enter’d Book  
 “ into an Alliance with you, we march’d VII.  
 “ through this Country at our Pleasure, and  
 “ laid waste, and burn’d any Part of it, we  
 “ thought proper : And you yourself when  
 “ you came to us in the Quality of an Em-  
 “ bassador, staid with us, without the Appre-  
 “ hension of an Enemy. Whereas You, who  
 “ are Subjects of *Seuthes*, either never came  
 “ into this Country at all, or, if you came  
 “ hither, you kept your Horses ready brid-  
 “ led, while you staid, as in a Country  
 “ belonging to those, who were more pow-  
 “ erful than yourselves. But now, since,  
 “ by becoming our Allies, you have got  
 “ Possession of it, you would drive us out  
 “ of this Country, though you receiv’d it  
 “ from us, as a Conquest we were willing  
 “ to resign, for you yourself are sensible  
 “ the Enemy was not strong enough to dis-  
 “ possess us : And not only want to send  
 “ us away <sup>42</sup> without any Acknowledge-  
 “ ment

<sup>42</sup> Ουχ ὅπως δῶρα δέσ. Ουχ ὅπως signifies here *not only not*, in the same Manner as *Dion Cassius* uses it, where he says that *Gabinus*, being ask’d by *Clodius*, what he thought of the Law, he had brought in against *Cicero*, *not only did not commend Tully, but accus’d the Roman Knights to the Senate.* Ουχ ὅπως ἐκεῖνον ἐπίνεσεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἱππέων τῆς βουλῆς προσκατηγόρησεν.



BOOK “ ment for the Benefits you have receiv’d,  
 VII. “ but also to hinder us, as far as you are  
 “ able, from encamping in the Country,  
 “ as we pass through it: And this you  
 “ urge, without Reverence either to the  
 “ Gods, or to this Man, who sees you now  
 “ abounding in Riches; you who, before  
 “ you enter’d into an Alliance with us,  
 “ liv’d by Plunder, as you yourself have  
 “ own’d. But why do you say this to me?  
 “ continues he, for I have no longer the  
 “ Command, but the *Lacedæmonians*, to  
 “ whom you resign’d the Army, that they  
 “ might carry it away, which you did with-  
 “ out consulting me, most admirable Men!  
 “ and without giving me an Opportunity  
 “ of obliging them by delivering the Army  
 “ to them, as I had disoblig’d them by car-  
 “ rying it to you.”

As soon as the *Odrysian* heard what *Xenophon* said; O *Medosades*! says he, I am  
 “ ready to sink into the Earth with Shame,  
 “ when I hear this. Had I known it be-  
 “ fore, I should not have accompanied you,  
 “ and

I make no doubt but this Grecism induc’d the *Latins*  
 to give the same Force to *non modo*; the following Pas-  
 sage of *Tully* is a remarkable Instance of it. *Regnum*  
*Cicero ad Attic. 10. non modo Romano homini, sed ne Persæ quidem cuiquam*  
*intolerabile.*

“ and shall now depart ; for *Medocus*, my  
 “ Sovereign, will not approve of my Con-  
 “ duct, if I should drive our Benefactors  
 “ out of the Country.” Having said this,  
 he mounted on Horse-back, and rode a-  
 way, with all the rest of the Horse, except  
 four, or five. Upon which, *Medosades* (for  
 he was uneasy to see the Country laid waste)  
 desir'd *Xenophon* to call the two *Lacedæ-*  
*monians*. He, taking some proper Persons  
 along with him, went to *Charminus*, and  
*Polynicus*, and told them *Medosades* de-  
 sir'd they would come to him, designing to  
 order Them, as he had Him, to leave the  
 Country : “ It is my Opinion, therefore,  
 “ says he, that you will receive the Pay due  
 “ to the Army, if you let him know that  
 “ the Soldiers have desired you to assist  
 “ them in obtaining it, either with, or with-  
 “ out the Consent of *Seuthes* ; and that  
 “ they engage to follow you, with Chear-  
 “ fulness, if they succeed in their Demands.  
 “ Tell him, at the same Time, that you  
 “ find their Claim is founded in Justice,  
 “ and that you have promis'd them not to  
 “ depart till they succeed in it.” The *Lace-*  
*dæmonians*, hearing this, said, they would  
 acquaint him with it, and with whatever

BOOK  
 VII.

BOOK VII. else would prove most effectual : And immediately set out with proper Persons to attend them. When they arriv'd, *Charminus* said, " O *Medosades* ! if you have any Thing " to say to us, speak ; if not, we have " something to say to you." *Medosades*, with great Submission, answered, " *Seu-* " *thes*, and I have This to say : We desire " that those who are become our Friends, " may suffer no ill Treatment from you ; " for whatever Injury you do to them, " you will now do to us, since they are our " Subjects." The *Lacedæmonians* replied, " We are ready to depart, as soon as Those " who have forced them to submit to you, " have received their Pay : Otherwise, we " are come to assist them, and take Re- " venge of those Men, who, in Violation " of their Oaths, have wrong'd them. If " you are of that Number, we shall begin " by doing them Justice against you."

THEN *Xenophon* said : " Are you wil- " ling, O *Medosades* ! to leave it to the " People, in whose Country we are, (since " you say they are your Friends) to deter- " mine, whether you, or we, shall leave it ?"

This

This he refus'd, but desir'd, by all means, the two *Lacedæmonians* would go to *Seuthes* about the Pay, and said 'twas his Opinion *Seuthes* would hearken to them: But, if they did not approve of that, he desir'd they would send *Xenophon* with him, assuring them of his Assistance in obtaining it. In the mean Time, he begg'd they would not burn the Villages. Upon this, they sent *Xenophon* with such Persons as were thought most proper to attend him. When he came to *Seuthes*, he said: " I am not come, O  
 " *Seuthes* ! to ask any Thing of you, but  
 " to demonstrate to you, as well as I am  
 " able, that you had no just Cause to be  
 " displeas'd with me for demanding of you,  
 " on the Behalf of the Soldiers, the Pay  
 " which you chearfully promis'd them ;  
 " since I was convinced that it was not less  
 " your Interest to give it, than theirs to re-  
 " ceive it : For I knew, in the first Place,  
 " that, next to the Gods, they have render'd  
 " you conspicuous by making you King  
 " over a large Extent of Country, and great  
 " Numbers of People: So that your Ac-  
 " tions, whether commendable, or infam-  
 " ous, cannot possibly be conceal'd from  
 " publick Notice. In this Situation, I look

BOOK “ upon it, as a Matter of great Moment

VII. “ to you not to have it thought that you  
 “ send away your Benefactors without re-  
 “ warding their Services; and not less so  
 “ to have your Praise celebrated by six thou-  
 “ sand Men. But, above all, that it concerns  
 “ you, in no Degree, to derogate from the  
 “ Credit of what you say; for I observe  
 “ the Discourse of Men without Credit to  
 “ be vain, and ineffectual, and to wander  
 “ disregarded; while That of Persons, who  
 “ are known to practise Truth, is not less  
 “ effectual to obtain what they desire, than  
 “ the Power of others; I know also that,  
 “ if they propose to reform any one, their  
 “ Threats are not less powerful to that End,  
 “ than the immediate Punishments inflicted  
 “ by others; and if such Men promise any  
 “ Thing, they succeed no less by promising,  
 “ than others by giving presently. Recol-  
 “ lect with yourself what you paid us, before  
 “ you receiv’d our Assistance. I know you  
 “ paid us nothing. But the Confidence you  
 “ created in us of your Performance of what  
 “ you promis’d, induc’d such Numbers of  
 “ Men to join their Arms to yours, and con-  
 “ quer a Kingdom for you, not only worth  
 “ fifty Talents, (the Sum these Men look

“ upon to be now due to them) but many  
 “ Times that Sum. In the first Place, there-  
 “ fore, for this Sum, you sell your Credit, to  
 “ which you owe your Kingdom. After  
 “ that, call to Mind of what Consequence  
 “ you thought it to you to obtain what  
 “ you now have conquer’d, and possess. I  
 “ know you wish’d to obtain it rather  
 “ than to gain many Times that Sum.  
 “ Now I look upon it to be a greater  
 “ Injury, as well as Disgrace, to lose the  
 “ Possession of this Conquest, than never  
 “ to have gain’d it; as it is more grievous  
 “ to a rich Man to become poor, than  
 “ never to have been rich, and more af-  
 “ flicting to a King to become a private  
 “ Man, than never to have been a King,  
 “ You are sensible that these People, who  
 “ are now become your Subjects, were not  
 “ prevail’d upon to submit to you by their  
 “ Affection for you, but by Necessity: And  
 “ that they would endeavour to recover  
 “ their Liberty, if they were not restrain’d  
 “ by Fear. Whether therefore do you  
 “ think they will be more afraid, and more  
 “ devoted to your Interest, if they see not  
 “ only these Soldiers dispos’d to stay, if  
 “ you desire it, and presently to return, if

BOOK " necessary, but others, from the advan-  
 VII. " tageous Character these give of you, ready  
 { " to come to your Assistance in any Thing  
 " you require of them ; or, if they are  
 " possess'd with an Opinion that, hereafter,  
 " none will ever engage in your Service  
 " from a Distrust created by your present  
 " Behaviour ; and that These have a greater  
 " Affection for Them, than for You ? Be-  
 " sides, these People did not submit to you,  
 " because they were inferior to us in Num-  
 " bers ; but because they wanted Leaders.  
 " This Danger, therefore, you are also ex-  
 " pos'd to : They may chuse for their Lead-  
 " ers some of our Men, who think them-  
 " selves wrong'd by you, or those who  
 " have still more Power, the *Lacedemo-*  
 " *nians* : Especially, if on one Side, the Sol-  
 " diers shew greater Alacrity to engage in  
 " their Service upon Condition that they  
 " force you to give them their Pay ; and,  
 " on the other, the *Lacedemonians*, from  
 " the Want they have of the Army, con-  
 " sent to the Condition. It is also no Se-  
 " cret that the *Thracians*, who are now be-  
 " come your Subjects, had rather march  
 " against you, than with you : For, if you  
 " conquer, they are Slaves ; and if you are  
 " conquer'd,

“ conquer’d, free. But, if you think it in- BOOK  
 “ cumbent on you to have any Regard to VII.  
 “ the Country, now it is your own, whether  
 “ do you think it will receive less Damage,  
 “ if these Soldiers, having received what  
 “ they insist upon, leave it in Peace, or if  
 “ they stay in it, as in an Enemy’s Country ;  
 “ while you endeavour to raise more nume-  
 “ rous Forces, which must also be supplied  
 “ with Provisions, and with these make  
 “ head against them ? And whether do you  
 “ think the Expence will be greater, if the  
 “ Money due to these is paid, or if this is  
 “ still suffer’d to remain due, and it becomes  
 “ necessary for you to take other Forces into  
 “ your Pay <sup>43</sup> powerful enough to subdue  
 “ the former ? But *Heraclides*, I find, by  
 “ what

<sup>43</sup> Ἄλλως τε κρείττους τούτων μισθῆσθαι. *Hutchin-*  
*son* has great Reason to find Fault with *Leuclavius*, and  
*Anasæus*, for translating κρείττους here, *maiores Copiæ*,  
*major Exercitus*. It most certainly signifies, as he  
 has render’d it, *armis potentiores* : *D’Ablancourt’s* Trans-  
 lation is still more loose than That of the two first, he  
 has said *faire de nouvelles Levées pour nous faire tête*. I  
 shall add to what *Hutchinson* has said a Passage in  
*Thucydides*, where he not only uses κρείττους in the  
 same Sense, but explains it himself by δυνατώτεροι ; *Thucydi-*  
 he is giving an Account of the State of Greece before des, 1 B.  
 the Trojan War, and says, ἐφιέμενοι γὰρ τῶν κερδῶν,  
 οἷτε ἥσας ὑπέμενον τὴν τῶν κρείσσονων δαλείαν, οἷτε  
 δυνατώτεροι, περισσίας ἔχοντες, προσεποιῶντο ὑπηκόας τὰς  
 ἐλάσσας πόλεις.



BOOK  
VII.

“ what he declar’d to me, thinks this Sum  
“ very considerable. It is certainly much  
“ less considerable to you now both to raise,  
“ and pay, than the tenth Part of it was  
“ before we came to you : For the Quan-  
“ tity of Money is not the Measure of the  
“ Greatness, or Smallness of the Sum, but  
“ the Ability of the Person, who is either  
“ to pay, or to receive it : And your annual  
“ Income now exceeds the Whole of what  
“ before you were worth. In what I have  
“ said, O *Seuthes* ! I have had all the Con-  
“ sideration for you that is due to a Friend,  
“ to the End that both you may appear  
“ worthy of the Favours the Gods have  
“ bestowed on you, and I not lose my  
“ Credit with the Army. For be assur’d  
“ that, if I desir’d to punish an Enemy, it  
“ is not in my Power to effect it with this  
“ Army, or to assist you, if I were again  
“ inclin’d to attempt it : Such is their  
“ Disposition with regard to me. And  
“ now I call both upon you, and the  
“ Gods, who know the Truth of what I  
“ say, to witness, that I have never had  
“ any Thing from you in Return for the  
“ Services you have receiv’d from the Army,  
“ or ever demanded of you, for my own  
“ Use,

“ Use, any Thing that was due to them, or BOOK  
“ claim’d what you promis’d me. I also VII.  
“ swear that, though you had been willing  
“ to perform your Promise to me, yet I  
“ would not have accepted any Thing, un-  
“ less the Soldiers, at the same Time, had  
“ received what was due to them : For it  
“ would have been a Shame for me to succeed  
“ in my own Pretensions, and to suffer theirs  
“ to remain without Effect ; particularly,  
“ since they had done me the Honour to  
“ chuse me for one of their Generals. *He-*  
“ *raclides*, I know, looks upon all Things  
“ as Trifles, when compar’d to the Pos-  
“ session of Riches, by what Means soever  
“ acquir’d : But I, O *Scuthes* ! am of Opi-  
“ nion, that no Possession does more be-  
“ come, and adorn a Man, particularly a  
“ Prince, than That of Virtue, Justice, and  
“ Generosity ; for whoever enjoys these,  
“ is not only rich in the numerous Friends  
“ he has, but in those who desire to be-  
“ come so : If he is in Prosperity, he has  
“ many ready to rejoice with him ; and  
“ if in Adversity, to relieve him. But,  
“ if neither my Actions, nor my Words  
“ are able to convince you that I am your  
“ sincere Friend, consider what the Soldiers  
“ said ;

BOOK<sup>“</sup> said ; for you were present, and heard  
 VII. <sup>“</sup> the Speeches of those, who were desirous  
<sup>“</sup> to asperse me. They accus’d me to the  
<sup>“</sup> *Lacedæmonians*, that I was more devoted  
<sup>“</sup> to your Interest, than to That of the latter ;  
<sup>“</sup> and, at the same Time, objected to me  
<sup>“</sup> that I studied your Advantage more than  
<sup>“</sup> theirs : They also said that I had receiv’d  
<sup>“</sup> Presents <sup>“</sup> from you. Now, do you  
<sup>“</sup> think they accused me of receiving these  
<sup>“</sup> Presents, because they discover’d in me any  
<sup>“</sup> Indisposition to your Service, or because  
<sup>“</sup> they observ’d in me the greatest Zeal to  
<sup>“</sup> promote it ? I am indeed of Opinion  
<sup>“</sup> that all Men ought to shew an Affection  
<sup>“</sup> to those, from whom they have received  
<sup>“</sup> Presents. Before I did you any Service,  
<sup>“</sup> you gave me a favourable Reception by  
<sup>“</sup> your Looks, your Words, and your Hof-  
<sup>“</sup> pitality, and never could satisfy your self  
<sup>“</sup> with making Promises. Now, you have  
<sup>“</sup> accomplish’d

<sup>“</sup> Εἶπας δὲ με καὶ δῶρα ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ. I have  
 render’d δῶρα here *Presents* not *Bribes*, which would  
 have been inconsistent with what he says afterwards,  
 though I doubt not but every *English* Reader will have the  
 same Satisfaction I have in observing that neither δῶρον,  
 in *Greek*, *donum*, in *Latin*, or *unPresent*, in *French*, have  
 the Force of our Word *Bribe* : a Foreigner, who does  
 not know us, may say that our Manners have coin’d  
 the Word, but we, who know ourselves, know how  
 much we are above such an Imputation.

“ accomplish’d what you desir’d, and are be-  
 “ come as considerable as I could make you,  
 “ finding me thus fallen into Disgrace with  
 “ the Soldiers, you dare neglect me. But  
 “ I am confident, Time will inform you  
 “ that you ought to pay them what you pro-  
 “ mis’d, and also that you yourself will not  
 “ suffer those, who have been your Benefac-  
 “ tors, to load you with Reproaches. I  
 “ have, therefore, only this Favour to ask of  
 “ you, that, when you pay it, you will study  
 “ to leave me in the same Credit with the  
 “ Army in which you found me.”

WHEN *Seuthes* heard this, he curs’d the  
 Man, who had been the Cause of their not  
 having been paid long since ; (every one  
 concluding he meant *Heraclides*) “ For  
 “ my Part, says he, I never design’d to de-  
 “ prive them of it ; and will pay them what  
 “ is due.” Then *Xenophon* said again :  
 “ Since you are resolv’d to pay the Money,  
 “ I desire it may pass through my Hands,  
 “ and that you will not suffer me to be in  
 “ a different Situation with the Army now  
 “ from That I was in when we came to you.”  
*Seuthes* answer’d, “ You shall not suffer  
 “ in the Opinion of the Soldiers by my  
 “ Means;

BOOK “ Means; and, if you will stay with only one  
 VII. “ thousand heavy-arm’d Men, I will give  
 { “ you not only the Places of Strength, but  
 “ every Thing else I promis’d.” The other  
 made Answer, “ That is not possible, so dis-  
 “ miss us.” “ I know, replies *Seuthes*, you  
 “ will find it safer for you to stay with me,  
 “ than to depart.” *Xenophon* answer’d;  
 “ I commend your Care of me : However,  
 “ I cannot possibly stay, but wheresoever I  
 “ am in Credit, be assur’d that you shall al-  
 “ so find your Advantage in it.” Upon this  
*Seuthes* said: “ I have very little Money;  
 “ no more than one “ Talent, which I  
 “ give you: But I have six hundred Oxen,  
 “ four thousand Sheep, and one hundred  
 “ and twenty Slaves : Take these with you,  
 “ together with the Hostages of those who  
 “ wrong’d you.” *Xenophon* replied smiling;  
 “ but, if these are not sufficient to raise the  
 “ Money that is due, whose Talent shall I  
 “ say I have? Is it not more adviseable for  
 “ me, since my Return is attended with  
 “ Danger, to take Care I am not ston’d?  
 “ you heard their Threats.” The Remain-  
 der of the Day they staid there.

THE

“ Τάλατον. See the 11<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the  
 first Book.

THE next, he deliver'd to them what he had promis'd; and sent Persons with them to drive the Cattle. In the mean Time, the Soldiers said that *Xenophon* was gone to *Seuthes* with a Design to live with him, and to receive what the other had promis'd him: But, when they saw him return'd, they were rejoic'd, and ran to him. As soon as *Xenophon* saw *Charminus*, and *Polynicus*, he said, "The Army is oblig'd to you for these Things. I deliver them to you; do you sell them, and distribute the Money among the Soldiers." They, having receiv'd the Things, and appointed Persons to dispose of them, sold them accordingly, and incurr'd great Censure. *Xenophon* had no Share in the Management; but openly prepar'd to return home: For he was not yet banish'd from *Athens*. But his Friends in the Army came to him, and begg'd he would not leave them 'till he had carried

<sup>46</sup> Διατιθέμενοι. Διάδωτε. See the 39<sup>th</sup> Annotation upon the sixth Book.

<sup>47</sup> Ου γάρπω ψῆφῳ αὐτῷ ἐπῆκτο Ἀθήνησι περὶ τῆς Φυγῆς. See the Author's Life at the Beginning of this Translation.

<sup>48</sup> Επιτήδειοι. Επιτήδειος. Φίλῳ ἔυνης ἀρμόδιῳ. *Suidas*. I have chosen the first of these with *d' Ablancourt*. The two *Latin* Translators have preferr'd the last.

BOOK carried away the Army, and deliver'd it to  
 VII. *Thimbron*.

AFTER this, they cross'd the Sea to  
 49 *Lampsacus*, where *Euclides*, the *Phlia-*  
*sian* Priest, the Son of 50 *Cleagoras* who  
 painted the Dreams in the *Lyceum*, met  
*Xenophon*, and after congratulating him  
 upon

49 Εἰς Λάμψακον. *Lampsacus* was a Sea-Port Town  
 in *Asia* upon the *Hellepont*, over-against *Ægos Pota-*  
*mos*; that Streight is there about fifteen Stadia over,  
 that is, about an *English* Mile and a half. *Lyfander*,  
 the *Lacedæmonian* General, took *Lampsacus* just before  
 he defeated the *Athenians* at the last mentioned Place.  
 See the Introduction.

50 Κλεαγόρου ἡ τοῦ τῶ τὰ ἐνύπνια ἐν Λυκείῳ γέγραφο-  
 τῶ. Doctor *Potter*, the present worthy Primate of  
 England, in his *Archæologia Græca*, that Treasure of  
 Greek Learning, says the *Lyceum* was situated upon  
 the Banks of the *Ilissus*, and receiv'd its Name from  
 Apollo Λυκοκτίνῳ or Λύκιῳ, to whom it was dedi-  
 cated. The *Greek* Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*, and  
*Suidas* say it was a Place design'd for military Exercises.  
 I am sorry I cannot get any Light concerning the Pain-  
 ter, and Picture mention'd by *Xenophon*, but nothing is  
 to be found in *Pliny*, or *Pausanias* concerning either,  
 though several considerable Painters, who flourish'd be-  
 fore this Time, are mention'd by the former, as *Po-*  
*lygnotus*, and *Micon*, who painted a Portico at *Athens*  
 called the *Pæcile*; and particularly *Panæus*, Brother  
 to *Phidias* the famous Statuary, who painted the Bat-  
 tle of *Marathon*, where the Generals, both *Greeks*, and  
*Persians*, were represented as big as the Life, which I  
 take to be the Signification of *Iconici Duces*; the Words  
 made use of by *Pliny* upon that Occasion; since *Athe-*  
*næus* calls Statues as big as the Life εἰκονικὰ ἀγάλματα,  
 and *Plato* says εἰκόνα ἰσομέτερον in the same Sense.

Archæol.  
 Græc.  
 1 B. c. 8.

Aristop.  
 εἰρήν.  
 p. 646.

Plin.N.H.  
 35 B. c. 34.

1 B.  
 In Phæd.

upon his safe Return; ask'd him how much BOOK  
 Gold he had. The other swore to him that VII.  
 he had not Money enough to carry him }  
 Home, unless he sold his Horse, and his Equi-  
 page: However *Euclides* gave no Credit to  
 him. But, after the Inhabitants of *Lampsacus*  
 had sent him Presents in token of their  
 Hospitality, and *Xenophon* was offering Sa-  
 crifice to *Apollo* in his Presence, *Euclides*,  
 upon viewing the Entrails of the Victims,  
 said, he was now convinc'd he had no Mo-  
 ney: " But, added he, I find, if there  
 " should ever be a Prospect of any, that  
 " there will be some Obstacle, and, if no  
 " other, that you will be an Obstacle to  
 " yourself." *Xenophon* own'd this: Upon  
 which, *Euclides* said, " the *Meilichian Ju-*  
*piter* is an Obstacle to you," and ask'd him  
 whether

Ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Μειλίχιος. There is a Passage in  
*Thucydides*, where, speaking of *Cylon's* seizing the Cita-  
 del of *Athens*, he mentions the *Athenian* Festival cele-  
 brated without the Walls of the City in Honour of the Thucy-  
des, 1 B.  
c. 126.  
*Meilichian Jupiter*, which he calls *Διάσια Diasia*, at  
 which, he says, all the People attended, and sacrific'd  
 not Victims, but Cakes made in the Shape of Animals,  
 according to the Custom of the Country, οὐχ ἱερεῖα, ἀλλ'  
 θύματα ἐπιχώρια; for so the *Greek* Scholiast explains  
 the Word θύματα. The Reason of my being so parti-  
 cular is, because *Xenophon* says he offer'd Sacrifice to  
 the same *Jupiter*, and burn'd Hogs whole to him ac-  
 cording



BOOK whether he had, at any Time, offer'd Sa-  
 VII. crifice, in the same manner, as I, says he, us'd

to

*cording to the Custom of his Country, Xenophōn ἐθύετο, καὶ ὠλοκαύτει χοίρους τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ: Are we then to imagine that either Thucydides, or Xenophon were uninform'd of the Custom of their Country upon so great a Solemnity? I should almost be tempted to think the Hogs, Xenophon says he burn'd whole, were also Cakes made in the Shape of Hogs. There is a Passage in Herodotus, that, in some Degree, favours this Conjecture; he says the Egyptians, notwithstanding their known Aversion to Hogs, sacrific'd them one Day in the Year to the Moon, and Bacchus, when they eat their Flesh, which they tasted upon no other Day, and that the poorer Sort made Cakes resembling Hogs, and, roasting them, offer'd them in sacrifice: οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν ὑπ'*

Herodotus

*in Euterpe. ἀσθενείης βίῃ, γαιτῖνας πλάσαντες ὕς, καὶ ὀπτήσαντες, ταύτας θύουσι.* But what Affinity is there between the religious Customs of the Egyptians and the Athenians? So

Diod. Sic.  
 1 B.

great an Affinity that we find in *Diodorus Siculus*, the Egyptians pretended that the Athenians were one of their Colonies, and had receiv'd the *Eleusinian* Mysteries from them, which they said *Erichtheus*, an Egyptian, and, afterwards, King of Athens, carried from Egypt, and instituted among the Athenians in Honour of *Ceres*. I cannot say that I ever met with an Account, in any Greek Author, of Cakes offer'd by the Greeks in the Resemblance of Hogs; but, besides the Authority of the Greek Scholiast upon the Passage already mention'd in *Thucydides*, where he explains θύματα, τινὰ πέμματα εἰς ζώων μορφᾷς τετυπωμένα, Cakes made in the Shape of Animals generally; I say, besides that Passage, we find in

Julius Pol-  
 lux, 6 B.  
 76, seg.

*Julius Pollux* that the Greeks offer'd Cakes to all the Gods, which Cakes had their Names from their different Shapes, as an Ox, which was a Cake with Horns and was offer'd to *Apollo*, and *Diana*, and *Hecate*, and the *Moon*. πέλαιοι δὲ κοινοὶ πᾶσι θεοῖς, κέκληνται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς σχήματός, ὥσπερ ὁ Βῆς· πέμμα γάρ ἐστι, κέρατα ἔχον πεπηγμένον πρὸς φερόμενον Ἀπόλλωνι, καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι,

to sacrifice for you at *Athens*, and offer a Book  
VII.  
Holocaust. *Xenophon* answer'd that, since he had been from Home, he had not sacrific'd to that God; the other advis'd him to offer Sacrifice to that Divinity, assuring him that it would be for his Advantage. The next Day, *Xenophon*, going to <sup>52</sup>*Ophrynion*, offer'd Sacrifice, and burn'd Hogs whole, according to the Custom of his Country; and the Entrails were favourable. The same Day, *Biton*, and *Euclides* arriv'd with Money for the Army: These contracted an In-

R 2

tercourse

τέριδι, καὶ Εκάτη; καὶ Σελήνη. I shall conclude this Annotation with observing that *Apollo*, when taken for the *Sun*, was the same, among the *Egyptians*, and, afterwards, among the *Greeks*, with *Dionysus*, or *Bacchus*, as *Diodorus Siculus* proves from this Verse of *Eumolpus*, Diod. Sic.  
1 B.

Ἀστροφαῖ Διόνυσον ἐν Ἀκτίεσσι πυρωπών,

And from another in *Orpheus*. Now, every body knows that these were the same with *Osiris*, as *Diana*, *Hecate*, and the *Moon* were the same Divinity with *Isis*; so that the Custom, mentioned by *Julius Pollux*, of offering Cakes in the Shape of Animals, to have been in Practice among the *Greeks*, seems to be deriv'd from That mention'd by *Herodotus* to have been in Use among the *Egyptians*; especially, since we find they were offer'd to the same Divinities. *D'Ablancourt* seems to have forgot that *Jupiter* was worshipp'd at *Athens* under the Title of *Meilichius*, for he takes the Name to be allegorical to the Mildness of *Xenophon's* Character, who did not make his Fortune *pour avoir trop de Pudeur*, as he says, *because he was too bashful*.

<sup>52</sup> *Οφρύμιον*. A Town of *Dardania*, near which *Strabo*,  
stood the Grove of *Hector* upon a conspicuous Place. 13 B.

BOOK tercourse of Hospitality with *Xenophon*, and,  
 VII. hearing he had sold his Horse at *Lampsacus*  
 for fifty Daricks, and, suspecting he had sold  
 him through Want, because they were in-  
 form'd he was fond of him, they redeem'd  
 the Horse, and restor'd him to *Xenophon*, re-  
 fusing to accept the Price they had paid for  
 him.

FROM thence they march'd through  
*Troas*, and, passing over Mount *Ida*, came  
 first to <sup>53</sup> *Antandrus* : Then, continu'd  
 their March along the Coast of the *Lydian*  
*Sea*, to the Plain of *Thebes*. From thence  
 through

<sup>53</sup> Διὰ τῆς Τροίας, καὶ ὑπερβάντες τὴν Ἰδὴν, εἰς Αν-  
 τάνδρον ἀφικνῶνται. The Misfortunes of *Troy*, or ra-  
 ther the fine Relations of them, have render'd all these

Parts famous, so that there is no necessity of saying  
 any Thing either of *Troas*, or Mount *Ida* : *Antandrus*  
 was the Sea-port, where *Aeneas* built his Fleet to pre-  
 serve the Remains of his Country : But one Thing  
 must not be forgot ; above *Antandros* was a Mountain,  
 called *Alexandria* from *Paris*, where they say he pass'd  
 Judgment upon the three contending Goddesses. The  
 Town that gave Name to the Plain of *Thebe*, was cal-  
 led by the same Name, and belong'd to *Eëtion* the Fa-  
 ther of *Andromache*,


Virg. 3 B.

Strabo,  
 13 B.

Homer  
 Il. α.

Ἀρχομεθ' εἰς θήβην ἱερὴν πόλιν Ἡετίωνος.

In the taking of this Town *Chryseis* was taken Pri-  
 soner, and given to *Agamemnon* ; the restoring of whom,  
 with the Difficulties that attended it, and the Conse-  
 quences that flow'd from it, are the Subject of the *Iliad*.

through <sup>54</sup> *Atramyttium*, and *Certonium* Book  
by *Aterne* to the Plain of *Caicus*, and VII.  
reach'd *Pergamus*, a City of *Mysia*. Here,   
*Xenophon* was entertain'd by *Hellas*, the  
Wife of *Gongylus*, the *Eretrian*, and the  
Mother of *Gorgion*, and *Gongylus*. She in-  
form'd him that *Asidates*, a *Persian*, lay  
encamp'd in the Plain, adding that with  
three hundred Men, he might surprize him  
in the Night, and take him with his Wife  
and Children, and all his Riches, which were  
very considerable. At the same Time, She  
sent a Person, who was her Cousin-German  
together with *Daphnagoras*, for whom She  
had a particular Value, to conduct them in  
the Enterprize: *Xenophon*, therefore, while  
these were with him, offer'd Sacrifice; and  
*Agasias*, the *Helean* Priest, being present,  
said the Victims were very favourable, and  
that the *Persian* might be taken Prisoner.  
Accordingly, after Supper, he set out, taking  
with him those Captains, who were most his

R 3

Friends,

<sup>54</sup> Δι' Ατραμυτίης καὶ Κερτονίης παρ' Αταρνεία εἰς Καί-  
κι πεδίον ἐλθόντες, Πέργαμον κακχαμβάνουσι τῆς Μυσίας.  
The first of these is a Sea-Port that gives its Name to  
the Bay, the other two are Towns in, or near the Road <sup>Strabo,</sup>  
from the first to the Plain that is water'd by the River <sup>13 B.</sup>  
*Caicus*. *Pergamus* was the Residence of the *Attalick*  
Kings; the last of whom left it with his Kingdom by <sup>Livy.</sup>  
Will to the *Roman* People. <sup>Ep. 58.</sup>

BOOK Friends, and had ever been faithful to him,  
 VII. that he might procure them some Advantage:  
 Others, to the Number of six hundred accompanied him whether he would or no; but the Captains rode on before them, lest they should be oblig'd to give them a Share of the Booty, which they look'd upon as their own.

THEY arriv'd about Midnight, when they suffer'd the Slaves, that lay round the Castle, together with a considerable Quantity of Effects, to escape, to the End they might take *Asidates* himself with his Riches: But not being able to take the Place by Assault, (for it was both high, and large, well fortified with Battlements, and defended by a good Number of brave Men) they endeavour'd to make a Breach in the Wall; which was eight Bricks thick: However, by Break of Day the Breach was made; which was no sooner effected, than one of those, who were within, ran the foremost Man through the Thigh with a <sup>ss</sup> large Spit: After that, they

<sup>ss</sup> Βεπόρω ὀβελίσκῳ. Βεπόρος ὀβελὺς, μεγάλῃς ὀβελίσκου. *Phavorinus*. In this Sense *Euripides* takes

*Eurip. in* it in his *Cyclops*, where *Ulysses* tells him,

*Cycl. 2*  
*ΑΒ.*

Οὐκ ἄμφι βεπόροισι πηχθέντας μέλη  
 Οἰελοῖσι, νηδὺν καὶ γνάθῳ πλῆσαι σέθεν.

they sent such a Shower of Arrows, that it was no longer safe to approach the Wall. In the mean Time, their Cries, and the Signals they made by lighting Fires, drew *Itabellius*, with his Forces, to their Assistance: There came also from *Comania*, the Garrison, consisting of heavy-arm'd Men, together with some *Hyrcanian* Horse, who were in the King's Pay, being about eighty in Number, and eight hundred Targeteers; besides others from *Parthenium*, *Apollonia*, and the neighbouring Places, and also Horse.

It was now Time for the *Greeks* to consider how to make their Retreat: To effect this, they took all the Oxen, and Sheep that were there, and then, forming themselves into a hollow Square, and, placing them with the Slaves in the middle, they march'd away. They were now no longer solicitous for their Booty, but only lest, by leaving it behind, their Retreat might seem a Flight, which would have increas'd both the Confidence of the Enemy, and the Dejection of their own Men: Whereas, while they made their Retreat in this Disposition, they seem'd resolv'd to defend their Booty. In the mean

BOOK Time *Gongylus*, ſceing the Number of the  
 VII. *Greeks* was ſmall, and That of the Enemy,  
 who hung upon their Rear, very conſiderable,  
 came out himſelf, againſt his Mother's Will,  
 at the Head of his own Forces, being deſirous  
 to have a Share in the Action: <sup>56</sup> *Procles*  
 alſo, who was deſcended from *Damaratus*,  
 came to their Aſſiſtance from *Elifarne* <sup>57</sup>, and  
*Teuthrania*. Now, as *Xenophon's* Men ſuf-  
 fer'd very much from the Enemy's Arrows,  
 and Slings, while they march'd in a Ring, in  
 Order to cover themſelves from the Arrows  
 with their Shields, it was with great Diffi-  
 culty they paſſ'd the River *Caicus*, near half  
 their Number being wounded. Here *Agasias*  
 of *Stymphalus*, one of the Captains, was  
 wounded, having the whole Time fought  
 with great Bravery. At laſt they arriv'd  
 ſafe with about two hundred Slaves, and  
 Cattle enow for Sacrifice.

THE next Day, *Xenophon* offer'd Sacrifice,  
 and, in the Night, led out the whole Army  
 with a Deſign to march as far as poſſible in-  
 to *Lydia*, to the Intent that the *Persian*,

ſceing  
<sup>56</sup> Προκλής ——— ὁ ἀπὸ Δαμαράτη. See the firſt  
 Annotation upon the ſecond Book.

Plin. N. H. <sup>57</sup> Παρθένιον — Απολλώνια — Ελισάριε — Τευθρανία.  
 5 B. c. 33. Theſe four Towns are alſo plac'd by *Pliny* in *Myſia*.

seeing him no longer in his Neighbourhood, Book  
might be free from Fear, and unguarded. VII.

But *Asidates*, hearing that *Xenophon* had again offer'd Sacrifice concerning a second Expedition against Him, and that he would return with the whole Army, quitted the Castle, and encamp'd in some Villages reaching to the Walls of *Parthenium*. Here, *Xenophon's* Men met with him, and took him with his Wife, and Children, his Horses, and all his Riches : And this was the Success promis'd in the former <sup>18</sup> Sacrifice. After that they return'd to *Pergamus*. Here *Xenophon* had no Reason to complain of *Jupiter Meilichius* ; for the *Lacedæmonians*, the Captains, the rest of the Generals, and the Soldiers, all conspired to <sup>19</sup> select

for

<sup>18</sup> Τὰ πρότερα ἱερά. I imagine, with *Hutchinson*, that *Xenophon* means the Sacrifice he says he offer'd in the Presence of *Agasias* of *Elis*, to distinguish it from That which he offer'd the Day after their unsuccessful Expedition.

<sup>19</sup> Ὡς ἐξάιρεται λαμβάνειν. It was an early Custom among the Ancients to select the most valuable Part of the Booty for their Generals, which makes the following Reproach from *Thersites* to *Agamemnon* very impertinent, and consequently very agreeable to the Character of the Man who makes it.

Homer  
Il. β.

Ατρείδῃ, τέο δ' αὐτ' ἐπιμέμφεαι, ἥδ' χατίζεις ;  
Πλεῖαί τοι χαλκῷ κλισίαι, πολλαὶ δὲ γυναῖκες  
Εἰσὶν ἐνὶ κλισίῃς ἐξάιρετοι, ἅς τοι Ἀχαιοὶ  
Πρωτίσ' ὦ δίδομεν, εὖτ' αὖ πολίεθρον ἔλωμεν.

Where



BOOK for him not only Horses, but Yokes of  
 VII. Oxen, and other Things : So that he had it  
 now in his Power even to oblige a Friend.

AFTER this *Thimbron* arriv'd, and, taking the Command of the Army, join'd it to the rest of the *Greek* Forces, and made War upon *Tissaphernes*, and *Pharnabazus*.

THE following Persons were the King's Governours of the Countries, through which we march'd ; of *Lydia*, *Artimas* ; of *Phrygia*, *Artacamas* ; of *Lycaonia* and *Cappadocia*, *Mithradates* ; of *Cilicia*, *Syennesis* ; of *Phœnicia*, and *Arabia*, *Dernis* ; of *Syria*, and *Assyria*, *Belesis* ; of *Babylon*, *Roparas* ; of *Media*, *Arbacas* ; of the *Phasians*,

Where *ἐξαιρετοι* is thus very properly explain'd by the *Greek* Scholiast αἱ κατὰ τιμὴν διδόμεναι ἀπὸ τῶν αἰχμαλωτῶν. *Virgil* has preserv'd this Custom, and translated *ἐξαιρεῖν* in the ninth Book, where he makes *Ascanius* promise *Nisus* the War-Horse, the Shield, and Helmet of *Turnus* at his Return from the Enterprize he, and *Euryalus* had undertaken.

*Vidisti quo Turnus equo, quibus ibat in armis  
 Aureus ? ipsum illum, clypeum cristasque rubentes  
 Excipiam torti, jam nunc tua præmia Nise.*

In the eighth Book, *Virgil* calls the Horse, which was reserv'd for *Æneas*'s own riding, when he went to the *Tuscans* to implore their Assistance, *exsortem*, which is a literal Translation of *ἐξαιρετος*.

*Scians and Hesperitans, Teribazus; (the Carduchians, the Chalybians, the Chaldeans, the Macrons, the Colchians, the Mosynæcians, the Cætans, and Tibarenians being free Nations) of Paphlagonia, Corylas; of the Bithynians, Pharnabazus; and of the European Thracians, Seuthes.*

BOOK  
VII.

THE whole of the Way, both of the Expedition, and Retreat, consisted of two hundred and fifteen Days March, of <sup>60</sup> eleven hundred fifty-five Parasangas, and of thirty-

<sup>60</sup> Παρασάγγαι χίλιοι ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα, στάδια  
 πρισμύρια τετρακισχίλια, διακόσια πεντήκοντα πέντε.  
 I have followed *Hutchinson's* Correction, who, very properly, I think, instead of διακόσια, reads ἑξακόσια, and takes away the Word πέντε. Concerning these Measures of Length, see the twenty-first Annotation upon the first Book. To which I shall only add that these Parasangas, or Stadia, being reduc'd to *English* Miles, amount to no more than 3305 Miles and a half, and not to 4331, as *Hutchinson* has computed it, who, I find, reckons eight Stadia to an *English* Mile; eight Stadia, indeed, make a μίλιον, or *Greek* Mile, but do not, by a great deal, amount to an *English* Mile; since an *English* Mile, according to *Arbuthnot*, contains 1056 geometrical Paces, and a *Greek* Mile only 806: So that an *English* Mile is to a *Greek* Mile, as 1056 to 806. 4331 *Greek* Miles being, therefore, contained in 34650 Stadia, if we say, 1056 : 806 :: 4331 : the proportional Number will be 3305, with a Fraction of 668, so that 3305  $\frac{1}{2}$  will be, to a trifle, the Number of *English* Miles contain'd in the 34650 Stadia mention'd by *Xenophon*

Arbuth-  
not of  
Weights  
and Mea-  
sures.

BOOK thirty-four thousand six hundred and fifty  
 VII. *Stadia*, and the Time, employed in both, of  
 a Year, and three Months.

*Xenophon* to have been the Amount both of the Expedition, and Retreat.

*The End of the Seventh and Last Book.*



T H E



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## E R R A T A.

- Pag. 4. Lin. 12, and 13. for  $\delta\epsilon$  thrice, read  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ .  
 Pag. 9. l. 26. for  $\epsilon\iota$  read  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ .  
 Pag. 14. l. 25. for 875 *Decimals*, read ,0875 *Decimals of*  
                                    $\frac{1}{1000}$  *an Inch*.  
 Pag. 24. l. 10. for *Tamon* read *Tamos*.  
 Pag. 26. l. 15. for  $\alpha\phi\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\zeta\epsilon$  read  $\delta\phi\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\zeta\epsilon$ .  
 Pag. 29. l. 21. for  $\kappa\alpha\delta\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$  read  $\kappa\alpha\delta\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ .  
 Pag. 68. l. 25. for *is certain* read *is equally certain*.  
 Pag. 84. l. 22. dele *Xenophon* and.  
 Pag. 93. l. 11. for *disbonest* read *immodest*.  
 Pag. 157. l. 24. after *of* add *it on*.  
 Pag. 162. l. 28. after *timendus* add *militi*. And in the Mar-  
                                   gin after *Livy*, add *B. V.*  
 Pag. 165. l. 20. dele *eiber*. and l. 22. dele *or*.  
 Pag. 192. l. 5. 29. 30. for *Descendents* read *Descendants*.  
 Pag. 247. l. 24. for  $\chi\theta\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$  read  $\chi\theta\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ .  
 Pag. 215. l. 24. after *Decimals*, add *of an Inch*.

## V O L. II.

- Pag. 10. l. 5. for *Cargos* read *Cargoes*.  
 Pag. 71. l. 32. & *alibi*, for *Fraight* read *Freight*.  
 Pag. 108. l. 14. for *debar'd* read *debarred*.  
 Pag. 151. l. 18. for *is* read *are*.  
 Pag. 154. l. 2. for *some* read *a*.

PROS. Diss. line the last, for 4914 read 5241.













